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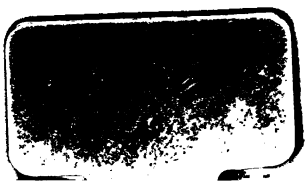

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St. James's Lodg.
20 Jun.o
1637.

My Lord's humble and
faithfull Servant
Endymion Porter

From the original Picture in the Possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrook
London T. & W. Boone Bond Street.

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MEMOIRS

OF

SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD, KNT.

CONTAINING

HIS SPEECHES AND POEMS;

"Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was a man in great vogue in those days, a wit and poet, and the intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, with whose poems Sir Benjamin's are printed."
HORACE WALPOLE'S edit. of *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*.

"One of the most eloquent men in that best age of English eloquence."
SOUTHEY'S *Book of the Church*, p. 460.

"Who so nobly defended the Bishops."—GRAINGER'S *Biog. Dict.*

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

THE LETTERS OF HIS GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON

BENJAMIN RUDYERD, ESQ.

CAPTAIN IN THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS AT THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY.

EDITED BY

JAMES ALEXANDER MANNING,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

LONDON:

T. & W. BOONE, NEW BOND STREET.

M.DCCC.XLI.

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LEICESTER SQUARE.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORD VISCOUNT CANTERBURY, G.C.B.

&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

I feel more than an ordinary degree of timidity in thus presuming, without your Lordship's sanction, to associate, even by an unprivileged dedication, your distinguished and venerated name with so trifling an example of research, coupled with such slight evidence of literary abilities as my humble portion of the accompanying pages presents to public criticism.

The profound respect, however, which I, in common with the vast majority of my fellow-countrymen, entertain for your Lordship, in consideration, not only of your great constitutional learning and long and brilliant Parliamentary services, but the general acquirements and the unexampled urbanity of manner which have

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invariably marked your Lordship's political and private life,—all these qualities have conspired to force me to an act, to which I should have solicited your Lordship's acquiescence, were I not conscious how ill I have performed the task I have undertaken, and how unworthy it is, in its execution, both of the great and good man of whom it treats, as well as of your Lordship's name as an ornament to its opening pages. This, however, is my own impulse, for which your Lordship cannot suffer in public estimation; and as the work relates principally to matters of peculiar interest to the legislator and the statesman, I take the liberty to dedicate it to your Lordship, who stands so prominently forward in both characters, not as a compliment worthy your Lordship's merit, but because of the natural association of your name with all that is eminent in Parliamentary affairs, and as a sincere proof of the deep respect with which I subscribe myself

Your Lordship's devoted and most faithful, humble Servant,

THE EDITOR.

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PREFACE.

THE Editor will not offer any apology for these pages, though, with the exception of a few occasional observations, which are probably too insignificant to merit the attention of the critic, the contents are mostly public property, scattered, it is true, through various manuscripts and many cumbrous volumes, not ordinarily within the reach of the general reader, though accessible to all whose time and avocations will enable them to avail themselves of the advantages of our great national libraries: if, therefore, the compilation should escape the censure of bad arrangement, he confesses it will be a gratification which he has not the vanity to anticipate.

As a general rule, the memoirs of a public character require no preface; but the Editor is unwilling that these should appear unaccompanied by a confession of the object he had in

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view, which was to introduce to the nineteenth century another of our illustrious worthies, a strenuous supporter of the reformed religion and of the Church government as instituted by law,—one of the fathers of that liberty for which he so nobly contended, and of which we now reap the fruits of real enjoyment,—whose name and actions (almost forgotten) would have been remembered to this day, but for that happy change in the political government of society, in laying the foundation of which, neither Pym nor Hambden (without detracting from the merits of either) was a more sincere, a more ardent, or a more assiduous labourer,—the unflinching advocate for the redress of grievances, an equally determined foe to the destruction of our institutions,—whose eloquence was the delight of the British House of Commons in the early period of Parliamentary liberty and utility for the public good, an eloquence which obtained for him the appellation of the "Silver Trumpet;" while his judicial and political honesty (rare virtues in those awful days of official delinquency) were equalled only by his private worth and excellence, which, owing their origin more to the sublime principles of that pure religion with which his mind was deeply imbued, than even to the natural goodness of his disposition,

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necessarily embraced all the noblest qualities of man's nature.

These are the virtues which were recognised in him by the brightest and the best of his contemporaries; and why his name hath been permitted to rest in undisturbed slumber, in the quiet and unbroken possession of the marble tomb for a period of nearly two hundred years, during which, neither political tongues nor literary hands have attempted to rescue his memory from almost total oblivion (though some of our best authors have slightly raked his ashes), is a problem which the Editor does not pretend to solve. He can only regret that, in this age of literature, whose votaries lay restless on their oars, and even monarchs in the world of letters sigh for subjects, a theme so worthy the exercise of their experience should have been left to one so ignorant of the art of book-making.

The Editor deplores the issue of his research after those private documents which so interestingly illustrate the memoirs of our ancestors, very few of which he has been fortunate enough to discover; at the same time he begs to express how fully sensible he is of the great urbanity with which his applications have been responded to by the Earl of Pembroke and the Honourable

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Sidney Herbert, Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., Sir Henry Ellis, Doctor Bandinel, the Reverend John Sloper of Westwoodhay, and Mr. B. Blundell of the Temple, as well as by the several branches of the Rudyerd family; to all of whom he begs to offer his grateful acknowledgments.

To the noble owner of the original portrait of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, the Editor cannot adequately express his sense of obligation.

In conclusion, he will only observe, that the task were better in better hands; for the subject, Ben Jonson, Camden, Sir H. Wotton, Owen, Sir Thos. May, Anthony Wood, Rapin, Echard, Rushworth, Heath, Baker, Nalson, &c.; and in later times, Horace Walpole, Grainger, and Southey, are not indifferent testimonies to its value.

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ERRATA.

Page 82, line 12, *read* sed nocet interdum, &c.

— 82, — 11, *for* particul r, *read* particular.

— 104, — 2 and 3, *read* "against scandalous livings as well as scandalous ministers."

— 245, — 20, *read* civil war, *not* wars.

— 256, — 4, *read* thy grace is this.

— xlix of Appendix, first note, 3d line, Thomas, eldest son of Sir Multon, was the celebrated Royalist who lost his estate of Westcombe, near Greenwich, in the service of King Charles I.

— xlix, second note, 5th line, *for* twenty-eight *read* eighty-eight.

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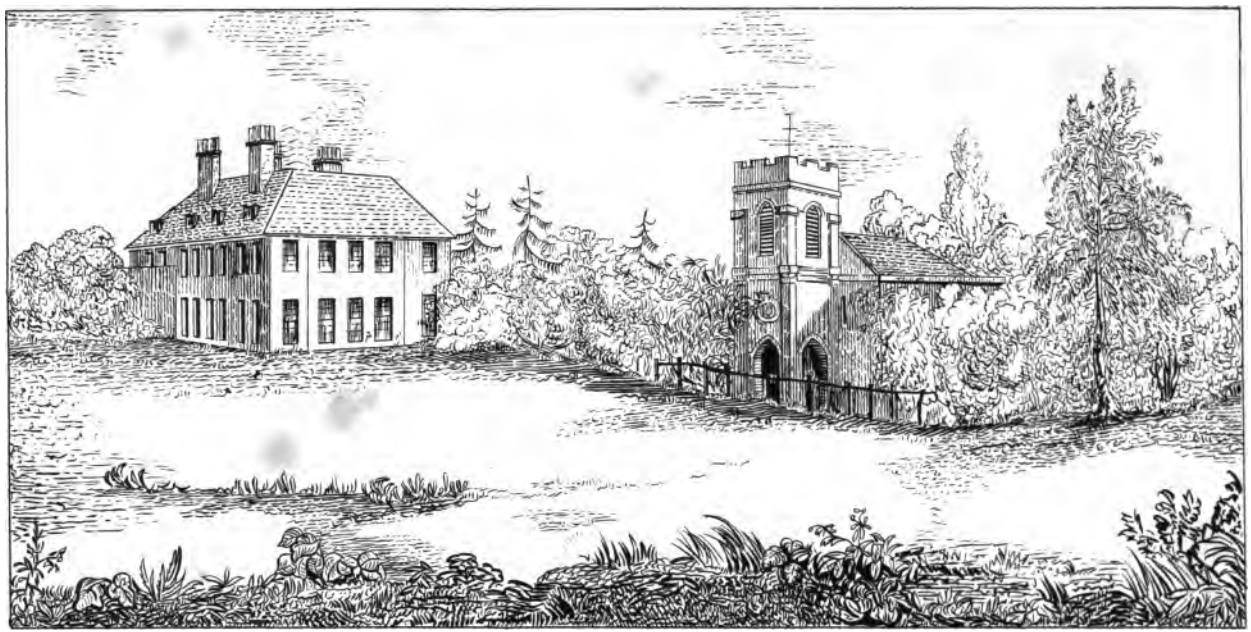

SOUTH AND WEST FRONTS OF WESTWOODHAY HOUSE, BERKS.

The Seat of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd Kn.t now in the Poſſeſſion of the Rev.d John Sloper.

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MEMOIRS

OF

SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD, KNT.

&c. &c. &c.

THE subject of these Memoirs was lineally descended from the very ancient family of Rudyerd of Rudyard, as the name is now written, a joint township with Candery, in that part of the parish of Leek which is in the southern division of the hundred of Totmonslow, in the county of Stafford; where it was settled, and was evidently of considerable importance, long prior to the Norman Conquest. Unquestionable evidence of this fact is to be found in "Doomsday Book" and other ancient records; and the clear and concise manner in which the pure Saxon origin of this family is traced through

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so many succeeding generations cannot fail to give an interest to the pedigree in the eyes of genealogists. The Editor does not, therefore, deem it necessary to apologise to the general reader for its insertion in an Appendix, to which the curious in such matters may refer, without offending the prejudices of those who attach no importance whatever to the mere antiquity of descent.

Benjamin Rudyerd was the third son of James Rudyerd, of Hartley, in the county of Hants, Esquire, by Margaret his wife, daughter and heiress of Lawrence Kidwelly, of Winchfield, in the same county, Esquire; which James Rudyerd was the younger brother of Thomas Rudyerd of Rudyerd, whose descendants in the female line, the male issue having failed, sold the patrimonial estate to the Earl of Macclesfield. Of Lawrence and John, the elder brothers of Benjamin, little can be ascertained beyond their matriculation at Oxford, as members of St. John's College, in 1587, together with their two younger brothers, Benjamin and James; which latter succeeded by the will of his grandfather Kidwelly to the estate of Winchfield, county of Hants, to the rectory of which parish he presented his friend, the celebrated Thomas Tanner, to whose "Primordia, or the

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Rise and Growth of the First Church of God described (London, 1683, Oct.)," Mr. James Rudyerd contributed two letters, one about "The Multiplying of Mankind till the Flood," the other, concerning "The Multiplying of the Children of Egypt." There were also two other members of this family who contributed to the early literature of the Protestant religion. One Edmund Rudyerd, the minister of Utoxiter, who wrote in the year 1615, "The Thunderbolt of God's Wrath against Hard-hearted and Stiffe-necked Sinners; or, an Abridgement of the Theater of God's fearfull Judgments executed upon Notorious Sinners;" dedicated to "the Right Worshipfull and Worthy Knights, Sir Vincent Corbet, Sir Francis Newport, &c., and to the Worshipfull and dearly beloved in the Lord Thomas Rudyerd, Esquire, &c.:" which work was published for Thomas Pavier, 1618. The other was Mr. Thomas Rudyerd, a friend and adherent of the celebrated William Penn, who wrote a pamphlet in defence of Quakerism and the principles advocated by the founder of Pennsylvania, entitled "The Barbican Cheat discovered; or, Injustice arraigned: being a brief and sober Disquisition of the Procedure of the Anabaptists' late erected Judicature in Barbican. London, the 28 of the moneth called August,

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1674. With some Observations upon the pretended Account thereof in their Pamphlet, term'd 'The Quaker's Appeal Answered.' By Thomas Rudyerd. Prov. xviii. 17.—'He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.'"

It was from this gentleman that descended that ingenious man, Mr. John Rudyerd, who, degenerated in circumstances but not in intellect, planned and erected the Eddystone Lighthouse, A.D. 1708; a fabric admirably adapted to resist the element it was intended to oppose, in which it was eminently successful, having stood the test of nearly fifty years, and weathered many a storm of the deep waters, until destroyed by fire on the 2d of December, 1755.

To return, however, to Benjamin the third son. He was born on St. Stephen's day, 26th of December, 1572, and was educated at the public school of Winchester. He was afterwards sent to St. John's College, Oxford; but it does not appear upon any authority how long he stayed at that university, or whether he took a degree: though Anthony Wood, in his "Athenæ Oxoniensis," mentions him among the celebrated writers and eminent men which that seat of learning had produced. The words of Wood are, "Whether he took a degree it appears not;

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however, by the polite learning he attained to there, and by his conversation with learned men in the great city, he became an accomplished gentleman and an excellent poet; and was held in high value by the great men of his age for his ingenuity, especially by John Hoskins, sen., Richard Martin, John Owen the epigrammatist, Ben Jonson, &c. &c., the last of whom hath an ingenious epigram to him."

It is, however, reasonable to suppose that he was removed from Oxford at an early age, as his family intended him for the study of the law; for which purpose he was entered of the Middle Temple three years afterwards, as appears by the following extract from the Register of that honourable Society:—

"18 *Aprilis*, 1590.

"M. Benjamin Rudierd, filius tertius Jacobi Rudierd, de Winchfield, in Com. Souham, et nup. de novo Hospitio Gen., admissus est in Societate Medii Templi General."

And after a period of ten years he was called to the bar, October 24th, 1600.

While keeping his terms, Rudyerd was chosen by the brethren of his Inn to record their gallant adventures during one of their Christmas festivals. The reader is no doubt aware, that the festivities of that season were celebrated with the greatest

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magnificence in ancient days, not only in London but in most great cities,

> "With pomp, and feast, and revelry,
> With masque and antique pageantry."

The house of every nobleman or gentleman had its sovereign elected for these sports, under the title of the Lord of Misrule, a personage whose origin is lost in the obscurity of years. Every parish had also its ruler of sports with the same title.

The Lord Mayor of London and the Sheriffs were not behind-hand in these jocularities; and, besides a fool, they had each a sovereign of mummeries on their establishment. His reign began on All-Hallow's Eve. Even royal authority afterwards sanctioned the use of these officers, whose posts always continued until the eve of the Purification. During the entire period of their sway, Stow says, there were "fine and subtle disguisings, masks, and mummeries."

King Edward VI. appointed one George Ferrers to hold the office; he was a poet, lawyer, and historian, and was the first styled "Lord of the Pastimes." Even the great lawyers of Lincoln's Inn doffed their sober habits at Christmas; they, too, had a king of Christmas-day, with his attendants, who presided in their hall: and so

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earnest were they in these matters, that they elected another officer on Candlemas-day, who presided with attendants in a similar manner, and was styled "King of the Cockneys."

The Middle-Temple lawyers, not to be outdone by their learned brethren of Lincoln's Inn, elected a Prince of Christmas so late as the year 1635. This personage (always one of their society) dined with them in their hall, having eight attendants. He was seated under a cloth of state, and served with great attention. This *pro tempore* prince was invariably introduced at the royal court, attended by maskers, servants, &c., in most splendid procession, where each performer recited some complimentary poem, written by the greatest wits of the day, in praise of the king or queen's royal family.

Herbert, in his "Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery," speaking of the entertainments given by the members, informs us, at page 248, that in the Middle and Inner Temple halls were held several of the great feasts and hospitable Christmassings of ancient times. One of these is described by Gerard Leigh, in his "Accidence of Armory." The hero on this occasion was Dudley, earl of Leycester, who, with the romance of his mistress, styled himself Palaphilos, prince of Sophie. He was entertained

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by a person representing a sovereign prince, and had for his officers the Lord Chancellor, Privy Seal, Treasurer; the Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, besides many other dignitaries of the law, and upwards of fourscore of the guard. And he further observes, that the Lord of Misrule was attended by his courtiers, Sir Francis Flatterer, of Fowleshurst, in the county of Buckingham; Sir Randle Rackabite, of Rascal Hall, county of Rakehell; Sir Morgan Mumchance, of Much Monkery, in the county of Mad Mopery; and Sir Bartholomew Baldbreech, of Buttockebury, county Brekneck.

"Noctes Templariæ," copied from the autograph in the Harleian Col. of MSS., is dated anno ab aula condita 27; and, as that building was not completed until 1572, in the treasurership of the learned Edmund Plowden, it must have been written in the year 1599, one year before Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was called to the bar, at which period he was twenty-six years old. It appears to be a diary of events during the Christmas festivities of that year, containing some severe criticisms upon characters, which, to be well appreciated, should be known: they are, however, very amusing evidences of the witticisms of that age, and, though altogether of a different cha-

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racter from the statesmanlike gravity which marked the after-life and proceedings of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, still the Editor conceives that the omission of so authentic a document would be altogether inexcusable, however it may interfere with the more important object contemplated by the publication of these Memoirs.

NOCTES TEMPLARIÆ;

OR, A BRIEFE CHRONICLE OF THE DARK REIGNE OF THE BRIGHT PRINCE OF BURNING LOVE.

Anno ab aula condita 27, the Linconians (the noble confederates with the Medie Templarians), to bring that antient and general league to particular feeling and affection of the gentlemen on both sides, invited the Templarians to theyr solemnities, entertained them with variety of musiq, and ended their friendly revells and discourses with a sumptuous banquet that exceeded the plentifullest veine of description. The greater number of their ablé companie occasioned in us, that took ourselves but for beholders, an offer for to create one man, amongst soe many, soe worthy, to be the Prince and head of all the rest.

But the offer rebounded back uppon us with more vehemency than it was made; whereupon we were withdrawn into the Senate-house to consult further,

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when matters were handled by way of comparrison thus, and they found that they were fitter for multitude, wee for a man and a *hall* of capacity. Then Stradilax, a Templarian, who was in greate danger to have bin Prince himself, if any man had thought him fit, ran downe amongst them like Lacoan Ardens, and, with most furious and turbulent accion, uttered theis 2 parrables, the one borrowed from a smith, the other from a clowne: — 'My masters, strike while the iron is hot: make hay while the sun shines.' They presently, with acclamations and sound of trumpetts, named Sur Martino Prince, promised him all theyr company and furtherances, waited uppon him home to the Temple; and, in making themselves beleive he was Prince, thought to have made him beleive soe to. Hee, esteeming it rather a solemn leading to some ffatal execution, fled from them. Then Stradilax stepped up upon the stone staires in the porch of the Temple Hall, from whence nothing but oysters ever opened theyr mouths with eloquence, and spake as followeth:—'Forasmuch, most dear, loving Ffellows, you are not only come down from your owne howse, but allso have taken the paines to bring us home, like the tile that doth not only slide from the roofe, but doth alsoe fall to the ground, I am to tell you ——.' But they went to bed, and soe hee did not tell them. All that week was Sur Martino continually importuned by his best friends, pressed with a mighty expectation, and with the streame of Rumour overborne; all which he answered more then for fashion's sake with their reasons: that other men hereuntofore, if they denyed

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it, might hide theyr willingness under forme of deniall, for they for theyr yeares were unsettled for theyr life not soe well knowne as they would bee, for theyr experience untravaled, and for theyr courses unresolved; for his part, hee now rather resolved to settle his name then to spread it, and thought it would bee but a subject to spend his former credit upon. Only hee could object to himself against all theyr reasons, but againe of a more inward love of that company which before he had lived in, and now chosen for continuance, and that made him yeelde. Then were privy seales directed to all within theyr dominions, towards the charge of this undertaking, but slowly returned: yeat notwithstanding, did Stradilax make a greate feaste; and insteade of grace after it, there was a libel set up against him in al famous places of the citty, as Queenhive, Newgate, the Stocks' Pillory, P—g Conduct; and, but that the provost withall was his inward ffriend, it should not have missed Bridewell. Now did many of Sur Martino's owne company forsake him, but some of them not without excuse, for owne sayed he would willingly stay, but he must always have a care to the maine chance. * * * *

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[*Hic multa desunt.*]

* * * the fortune of one man, which was handled by three of the counsaile. This night Stradilax, in greater pomp, with a left-handed truncheon, miscalled

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himself a Lord, noe man gainesaying it, or crying God save your Lordship, but Poet Natazonius, who presented him with a shield, whereon was drawn the monster Sphinx; the word was, *Parvus sum non Œdipus;* and saluted him by the name of Milochius Stradilax to the tune of 'The Tanner and the King.' Wensday night there was a comedie; there the Prince's officers had theyr charges made unto them, which the people were glad to heare. Thursday night there was set forth a prognosticacion, which, with greater stile, foretold many things that were past. The orator made a neat tuftaffety oration, which was answered in a handsome fustian speech by the Clarke of the Counsaile; in the midst of which tuftaffota oration the orator took tobacco, and being charged with it in the fustian answer, at first denyed it. Uppon Friday night there was a great fast proclaimed; suppers forbidden in the Prince's hall, except eggs in moonshine and pippenpyes, that every one might better prepare himself for the sacrafice of Love, which is usually celebrated upon the last day of every year. Uppon Saturday the sacrafice of Love was performed, on which many misliked the confessions, but few the sinne. The best part of that night's shew was eaten up at supper, and yeat the people sayd there was a good mask done by 8 gentlemen. Milorsius Stradilax made 3 confessions, for a souldiour, a traveller, and a country gentleman; 2 soe bad, that the meanest wit would not undertake to bring them in; and the souldiour's speech, to bring them in the style of a tayler's bill, or a memorandum with *imprimis* and *items:* yeat did hee disclaim in that

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night's device, because it wanted applause. Milesius Stradilax usurped upon the commendation of all tollerable speeches, insomuch, that one praising the herald's coate, hee reported that hee pend it, and so far refused all matter of ill success, that this night, when one of the Prince's ordinances broke, hee protested it was none of his projects. Many found fault with our sports, because they could not come in to see the faults. This night there were kñights created of the most antient order of the quiver.

Sunday being the first day of the new year, and second yeare of the Prince's most happy reigne, the hard-hearted Thames had thought to have frozen quite over, but uppon better advice it forbore; yeat was it soe hard, that a *scullar* in the midst of the ice was like to a rat in a glazier's shop. A ffarmer of Kingston sent downe 500 quartes of malt upon a piece of ice, which suffred shipwracke against the middle arch of the bridge, and made honest small beere downe as farre as Ratcliffe. Uppon Monday night there happened a comedy and dancing, which was noe greate wonder, and a banquet that was not lookt for. There was this night a discovery of many pickpurses, more fitting to be put into the stocks than a chronicle for the strangeness of the invention; for one cut a piece of a gentleman's left ear, and a jewel in it, with such dexterity that he never heard it; another gentleman had his nose cut off with a ruby upon it, soe cunningly that until he mist his handkerchief he knew not that he had lost his nose. Upon Tuesday night there came not so much as a whale uppon the Thames, nor a wild

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beare down the streete; noe man's purs was pict but by himself. Ffabricius Spursus shifted not his shirt, because of the good service hee had done him all the weeke before. This night one had like to have commended women for theyr inconstancy, but hee was disappoynted; therefore now let them never look to be praysed for that quality.

Wednesday, the Prince's Excellence was invited to the Lord Mayor's, and expected; but hee deferd his comming because of the preparation for barriers and a mask to the Court. Thursday was also spent in that business. Uppon Friday, being twelf day, att night there went to the Court 11 Knights and 11 Squires, 9 maskers, 9 torch-bearers; theyr setting forth was with a peale of ordinance, a noyse of trumpets allways sounding before them; the heralds next; after, 2 Squires and 2 Knights; the Knights for theyr upper parts in bright armour, theyr hose of cloth of gold and cloth of silver; the Squires in jerkins laced with gold and silver, and theyr hose ás faire; all uppon greate horses, all richly furnished. Then came the maskers by couples, on velvet foote-cloths, theyr short cloaks and doublets, and those of cloth of gold and silver of the several colours, representing 9 several passions; to every masker a torchbearer on a foote-cloth, carrying his device, besides a 100 torches borne by servants. Never any Prince in this kingdome, or the like, made soe glorious, soe rich a shew.

When they came to Court, the Knights brake every man his lance and two swords; the 9 maskers like passions issued out of a hart: all was fortunately

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performed, and received great commendations. Uppon Saturday night there was a solemne barriers betwixt 2 Knights, challengers, against all commers, in honor of the Prince's faire mistris. Cavalero St. George and Cavalero de Bombardo began a quarrell in thier combat which had not soe ended, had not the Prince's wisdom moderated theyr choller and prevented further danger. There was a masque that night, and therefore why should it not be set downe? Upon Sunday the Prince was invited to supper to a royal gentleman, where hee was royally welcomed with greate plenty of all things, but the provision of ladies fell short. Here Milorsius Stradilax, scorning the soberness of the company, fel drunke without a trial; hee made a festival oration, and in his new drunkennes repeated his old comparison of porke, to the dispraise of the noble women there present. Comming home he went to sleepe on a stall, where the bellman found him, and delivered him to the Prince's porter, to be sent according to the superscription.

Uppon Monday was the Prince invited a second time to my Lord Mayor's, where hee went in greate state. All his pensioners mounted on greate horses, his revellers upon velvet foot-cloaths, his council next him, his Excellency last, saving the master of his horse, which led a spare horse behind him. His entertainment for magnificence, bounty, and daintiness, was enough to fill a whole chronicle, but with due commendations. The streets were so slippery with the frost that many durst not ride with the Prince, but stayed at home for want of good cloaths.

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Uppon Tuesday night (18th) supt privately abroade. The Captaine of the —— brought a challenge from Duke Humphrey to Milorsius Stradilax, who in meek resolution tooke it uppon himself.

19th. Uppon Wensday the Prince undertook a progress, and visited all the corners of his Court to see how his subjects were furnishd with household stuffe; when he found some to be well and fairly provided, many that had need of the tinker, most that were not worth the mending.

20th. Uppon Thursday night the Linconians intended to see the Prince's Court, and soe did all the town, which bred such disorder that the Prince could not then receive them according to their worthiness, nor his own desire. Uppon this Milorsius Stradilax practised factiously against the Prince, and earnestly stirred up enmity betwixt him and the Linconians.

21st. Uppon Friday the Linconians came with an ambassador, who preferred the Prince's love unto ours. Then was a masque of eight gallant gentlemen, gallantly apparreled, exactly performed, exceedingly commended, but not sufficiently. There was also that night an arraingnment of a discontented lover; Milorsius Stradilax made commissioner in the arraignment, puft up with a poore-witted ambition, would needs be cald "Exophilus," in imitation of the great Earle of the tyme.

22d. Uppon Saturday the Linconians were entertained with a banquet by our Prince, when our league was renewed.

Thus ended our sports, and it was no wonder they soe long lasted, considering the tottering beginning,

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the small comfort of a small number, the narrowness of tyme, that it passed all hope to see such success raysed out of such unlikelyhoods, when they had such minds for stragling, that it might be prayse enough for a Prince to hold them together, though he did nothing else, and to take away discontentments in inequality of employments. The Prince himself descended into all particular charges and regards, and departed with much of his majesty to gain somewhat of every man's love, and to assure his court of a good report of strangers' entertainment. Uppon Candlemass night, the Prince, wearied with the weight of government, made a voluntary resignation into the hands of the Optimates, intending a private life, wherein he required the advice of his Counsaile. One perswaded him to follow the sea; another, to land travaile; a third, to marry a rich widow; and a fourth, to study common lawe: hee chose the last, and refused not the third if she stood in his way.

The Prince was of face thin and leane, of a chearful and gracious countenance, black hair, tall bodyed, and well proportioned, of a sweete and fair conversation to every man that kept his distance. Fortune never taught him to temper his owne wit or manhood. His company, commonly weaker than himself, put him into a just opinion of himself of his owne strength. Of a noble and high spirit, as farre from base and infamous strains as ever he was from want; soe wise that he knew how to make use of his owne subjects, and that to theyr owne contentment; soe eloquent in ordinary speech, by extraordinary practise, and los of to

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much tyme, that his judgment, which was good, studdy could not mend it. He was very fortunate, and discreet in the love of women; a greater lover and complainer of company, having more judgment to mislike then power to forbeare.

This Prince reigned not ful 40 yeares. Hee dyed of a common infectious disease called Opinion, uppon the sixt month of Candlemas day, and may be buried in oblivion with his ancestors if tongues dig him not up.

BENJAMIN RUDIERD.

It is difficult, at this remote period, to discover what early progress he made in his professional career. It is certain he must have found some arena in which to distinguish himself during the reign of Elizabeth, for Rudyerd had the honour to enjoy the esteem of that princess, at whose court the "polite learning with which his youthful days were adorned"* no doubt procured him an easy and acceptable *entré*. During this reign, and, probably, while prosecuting their studies at Oxford (for there were but seven or eight years of difference in their ages), Rudyerd had the happiness to form the acquaintance of William, earl of Pembroke; a nobleman whose high birth, fortune, and dignities, were eclipsed only by the superior talents, worth, and dignity of his mind.

* Wood's "Athenæ Oxon." by Bliss. See Rudyerd, vol. iii.

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With souls so congenial, it is no wonder that their acquaintance soon ripened into a firm and steady friendship, which was interrupted only by the hand of death. The character of Lord Pembroke is too well known to require any lengthened account in these Memoirs. He was born in 1580, and was educated at New College, Oxford. He was a wit, a poet, and a most accomplished nobleman; so much so, that James, shortly after his accession to the throne, conferred the order of the Garter upon him, and created him Governor of Portsmouth; and in 1615 he succeeded Carre, earl of Somerset, as Lord Chamberlain of the Household. To which office, Lord Clarendon observes, he was nominated "more for the Court's sake than his own; and the Court appeared with the more lustre, because he had the government of that province." Lord Clarendon further observes, that "He was exceedingly beloved by the Court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men; and he was equally celebrated in the country for having received no obligations from the Court which might corrupt and sway his affections and judgment."

Lord Pembroke was a man of lofty carriage, and, though humane and generous to a fault, he

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never permitted any man to take a liberty with him—not even the monarch himself. And as James was more accustomed to less polished manners (the Scotch nobility not being famed at that time for the possession of great court accomplishments), it is no wonder that he was less at his ease when surrounded by the Court of Elizabeth.

The anecdote related by Wood in his "Athenæ Oxoniensis," shews that the King, notwithstanding his pedantry and assumption of solid learning, loved practical jokes, and that Lord Pembroke had too much independence not to resent the trick he played him. It is said that the King had discovered, while on a visit at Wilton, the Earl's seat, that he had a wonderful dislike to frogs, and watched the opportunity to throw one into the Earl's neck. Lord Pembroke, borrowing the motto from his majesty's northern dominions—*Nemo me impune lacessit*—and knowing the strong national and partly religious prejudices of the Scotch towards the unclean animal, placed a pig under a certain piece of furniture in his majesty's bedroom, to the no small annoyance and mortification of the King when necessity forced him to the discovery.

Lord Pembroke was a great patron of learning and learned men. He was a poet of no

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mean capacity. That his poems are quaint is not surprising, the language of society at that period was equally so. In his time there were but few stars in the poetical hemisphere. Shakspeare, the greatest philosophical poet the world had produced, confined himself principally to the grander style of blank verse. It cannot be denied that the language of Ben Jonson is often cramped and quaint, as compared with that of the present day; and if we except these two great men, whom Nature had sent to teach the young idea, poetry may be said to have been in its infancy. Poetry, indeed, at the period in question, was almost mechanical, and consisted in preserving a consistent metre in imitation of Latin verse, with *idem sonantes* terminations. An easy flowing verse, an euphonious line, is rarely to be met with in the poems of that age, if we except Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Spenser, and a few others, in whose works they are occasionally discovered; though very shortly afterwards they burst forth in all the splendour of native genius. Comparing poetry with Music, of which it is the twin sister, it may be said that poets had not then discovered those half notes and discords which now so much enhance the charms of intonation, and give a softness and elegance to the composition which are not to be found either in

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ancient music or poetry, notwithstanding the grandeur and sublimity of their conceptions. These observations are not offered as an apology for the poems of Lord Pembroke or Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, for the Editor considers that their beauties more than overbalance the defects; at the same time, he would wish to guard himself against the supposition of his offering them to public criticism as specimens of poetry, when his only object is to present to the reader the compositions of the individuals in question as part and parcel of their literary labours, which ought not, in his humble judgment, to be omitted in these Memoirs, and to place before him specimens of poetry which were highly approved and extolled at the period when they were written. That Sir Benjamin Rudyerd and Lord Pembroke wrote in the full confidence of that friendship which subsisted between them, for their own amusement and that of their immediate friends, and without the least intention as to publication, no doubt can exist; nor were they printed until two years after the death of Rudyerd, when they were published by Donne, the son of the famous Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's, the intimate friend of both parties. For the poems of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, and such only of Lord Pembroke's as were written in con-

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junction with him, the reader is referred to the Appendix, where they are given in the same order in which they appear in Donne's edition—a small 12mo. exceedingly rare. London, 1660.

It was Mr. Rudyerd's good fortune, during the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to acquire the esteem of Sir John Harrington, afterwards Lord Harrington of Exton; a man whose superior talent, whose great accomplishments, deep learning, and penetration, induced our scholastic monarch James to appoint to the honourable office of Preceptor to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, afterwards the most accomplished but unfortunate of princesses. Wright, in his "History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland," published 1684, folio, in describing Exton, says, p. 47,—"Exton at the time of the Norman Conquest belonged to Earl Wallef, from which Earl Wallef or Waltheof, earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, and Judith his Countess, the estate descended by Matilda, their daughter and heiress, to David, king of the Scots, who was also in right of his wife Earl of Huntingdon; from whose issue it went again by a female to the noble family of Brus (kings of Scotland); and from that by marriage to the Greens; and from thence, in the same manner, to the Culpepers; and from them to the Har-

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ringtons, of the ancient family of Harrington, Lords of Harrington or Haverington in Cumberland, by whose heir-general it was in the last age sold, having continued in the same line of blood for nearly 600 years, as may appear more particularly by the following story and pedigree." Here follows the pedigree of the Harringtons, connecting them with the before-named royal and noble families by the marriage of Sir John Harrington with Katherine, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Thomas Colepeper of Exton, by Juliana his wife, the daughter of Radulphus Crumwell, Knight; from whom the estate regularly descended to Sir James Harrington, who, by Lucy his wife, the daughter of Sir William Sidney, of Penshurst, Knight, was the father of Sir John, created Lord Harrington of Exton by James I. Sir Henry, of whom hereafter; James, the grandfather of the celebrated James Harrington, author of "Oceana," and from which branch the Baronets of Riddington descend; and eight daughters,—Elizabeth, married to Sir Edward Montague, father to the Lord Montague, the Earl of Manchester and Lord Privy Seal, and Sir Edward Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich; second, Frances, married to Sir Edward Lee, Knight, who was afterwards created Lord Chichester and Earl of Dunsmore, and married

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one of his daughters to the Earl of Southampton (whose daughter married the Earl of Northumberland); and the other, who married Colonel Villiers, was governess to the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of King James II. afterwards Queen of William III. Margaret, the third daughter, married Don Bonnito de Sisnores of Spain, of the family of the Dukes of Fantasquo, which dukedom afterwards fell to him; and by this lady he had an only daughter and heiress, who married the Duke of Ferio, and by whom an only daughter married the King of Portugal. Katherine, the fourth daughter, married Sir Edward Dimmock, Knight, of Lincolnshire, the king's standard-bearer. Mary, the fifth, married Sir Edward Wingfield, Knight, of an ancient and noble family in Kent. Mabelle, the sixth, married Sir Andrew Noell, Knight, afterwards Lord Cambden, who became owner of Exton, the family seat of the Harringtons, in which family it now is. Sarah, the seventh daughter, married Lord Hastings, heir to the Earl of Huntingdon; and Theodosia, the eighth and youngest, to Lord Dudley, of Dudley Castle, one of whose daughters married the Earl of Hume in Scotland, and had two daughters married to the Duke of Lauderdale and to Lord Morrice. And in page 48 of the same work,

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and also in Fuller's "Worthies," it is said that "this family was related or nearly allied to eight dukes, three marquises, seventy earls, nine counts, twenty-seven viscounts, and thirty-six barons, amongst whom were sixteen knights of the Garter." It was in this noble family, distinguished alike by their talents and piety, that Rudyerd, no doubt, received those lessons of moderation and virtue which so greatly distinguished his whole political career; and it was from thence that he chose a partner in the joys or sorrows of this life, in the person of Elizabeth, one of the two daughters and eventually coheiresses of Sir Henry Harrington, next brother to John first Lord Harrington of Exton, and upon the death of John second Lord Harrington of Exton, the eldest male representative of the family; a lady as much distinguished for her virtue, piety, and excellent parts, as was her sister, Miss Harrington, for her loyalty, sufferings, and privations in the service of the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, to whom she was maid of honour.

It was probably owing to Rudyerd's connexion with the Harringtons that he soon obtained so favourable a reception at the court of King James, though his talents, which were great for the age in which he lived, no doubt contributed

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to the insurance of that esteem in which he was ever after held by the royal family, even when (in the subsequent reign) diametrically opposed to the Court and Court-party;—an opposition, however, that must ever reflect the highest honour upon him, since it arose from no factious or ill-judged temerity, but solely from a conscientious feeling of the duties which, as a legislator and representative of the people, were imposed upon him to guard their interests, to raise his voice against oppression, and to preserve the liberty of the subject. His honesty and sincerity, kindheartedness and moderation, were too well known to allow an unworthy imputation upon his character by the most violent of the absolutists; and if he were not praised he at least (as will afterwards be shewn) never forfeited the good opinion of those whom he had faithfully served, and towards whom his opposition was ever intended to be — as his advice, had it been followed, would have proved —an act of constitutional loyalty, a description of allegiance to the rights of man which belongs to a statesman, and greatly surpasses the blind, though amiable and heroic devotion, of those who gallantly fell in the cause of misguided royalty.

Though there be no data upon which to

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form an accurate conclusion, it may be presumed that Mr. Rudyerd's marriage with Miss Harrington — who, through her grandmother Lucy, daughter of Sir William Sidney, was a near relation to Lord Pembroke — cemented the friendship of these enlightened men, and rendered their intercourse of that familiar nature of which their poems would naturally induce a belief. But whatever may have been the cause of their unbroken intimacy, without wishing to overcharge either with flattery, it must be admitted that in those days of undisputed aristocratic superiority the attentions of Lord Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, setting his talents and judgment aside, may have greatly tended to Rudyerd's rise, and importance in the state; but joined to those discriminating qualities, of which Lord Pembroke has given ample proof, even in an age, when if ignorance were not bliss, it was certainly dangerous to be wise, they must have been highly complimentary to his feelings and abilities.

About the 10th of James, Rudyerd, in consequence of some misunderstanding, the cause of which is not easily to be arrived at at this distance of time, is recorded by Wood in his "Athenæ Oxoniensis," to have fought a duel with

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the celebrated John Hoskins, afterwards Sir John Hoskins, the Welsh judge; in which affair Rudyerd was wounded in the knee: they were however, soon reconciled, and continued the firmest friends ever after. John Hoskins was a poet and a lawyer. In the parliament of 1614 he was committed to the Tower by the king, for an allusion to the Sicilian Vespers, together with Sir Charles Cornwallis, the son of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Brome in Suffolk, and Dr. Lionel Sharpe of Cambridge. Sir John Hoskins, who was the ancestor of the present Sir Hungerford Hoskins, of Harwood, Bart., was considered one of the most admired and ingenious poets of his age; and A. Wood* says,—"There were few or none that published books of poetry, but did celebrate his memory in them, especially his contemporary in New Coll., John Owen, the epigrammatist; and fewer but did lay them at his feet for approbation before they went to press. 'Twas he that polished Ben Jonson, the poet, and made him speak clean. Whereupon he was ever after called 'Our Author, Father Hoskins; and 'twas he that viewed and reviewed the 'History of the

* "Ath. Oxon." vol. i. p. 523.

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World,' written by Sir Walter Raleigh, before it went to press. Unto which person he had several years before (especially during their time of imprisonment in the Tower) been intimate. He was also much respected and beloved by Camden, Selden, Sam. Daniel, Dr. John Donne, dean of St. Paul's, Rich. Martin, recorder of London, Sir Henry Wotton, and Sir Benj. Rudyerd." Nor was Sir Benjamin the less beloved and esteemed by these celebrated men, all of whom have written or sung to his praise. Ben Jonson in particular had a high opinion of his poetical and general talents, as well as the innate qualities of his mind, his private worth and excellence; and before, or about this time, wrote his first epigram to him. The exact period at which it was written is not material, except that it rescues the feeling which prompted such complimentary verse from the charge of fulsome adulation to men in authority; and Mr. Gifford, in his edition of Ben Jonson's works, proves that Rudyerd held no office of importance at that time.

In the 15th of King James, Rudyerd was appointed to the then high and distinguished office of Surveyor of His Majesty's Court of

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Wards and Liveries;* and though at this period of arbitrary sway (for such it really was, notwithstanding that a new light then began to twinkle above the horizon of passive obedience, which, though for a time extinguished, burned the more fearfully bright and blood-red in the succeeding reign)—at that period, when the law was made subservient (in its administration) to authority, a stronger proof of which cannot be required than in the case of the arguments upon the king's power to grant *commendams*, where the judges, after having discharged their consciences by a decision contrary to the king's expectations, humbly sought his mercy on their knees — it must be conceded that the appointment to office was seldom the result of tried judgment and independence; indeed the latter quality totally destroyed the competency for the former in the opinion of our conceitedly learned, but uselessly pedantic sovereign, who, had he not followed in the wake of Henry's and his daughter's tyrannies, would in all probability have shared the fate of a better man — his son: still, with the acknowledgment by all historians of James's learning, it was a compliment to Rudyerd to be selected by him

* Camden, in "Annal. Reg. Jac. I."

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to fill the office of second judge in one of the most important courts of law (not justice) in the empire,—most important, as no man knew how soon it might be the fate of his family and estates to pass under its control, perhaps to their utter ruin and destruction.

In allusion to his appointment and the estimation in which he was held, Anth. Wood says:—"In the reign of King James I. Mr. Rudyerd was several times a parliament man, and was had in so great esteem by that king, that when Sir Humphrey May was appointed Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, 9th March, 1617, he forthwith made our author, Rudyerd, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries in his place; and on the 30th of the same month honoured him with the degree of knighthood." Anthony Wood, whose bitter sarcasm and innate moroseness seldom permitted him to flatter the dead, and the living only when holding the highest offices in the state, speaking of Sir Benjamin adds further, as a summary of his character,—"His youthful days were adorned with all kinds of polite learning, his middle yeares with matters of judgment, and his latter with state affairs and politics."

As it may not be uninteresting to the reader, as a matter of history, to be made acquainted

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T. Macrae lithog.

THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES.

Temp Elizabeth.

Lord Burleigh: The Master, President.

On his right.	*On his left.*
1. *Sir Christopher Wray Kt. & L.d.C.J.Q.Bench.*	1. *Edmond Anderson Esq.r C.J.C.Pleas.*
2. *Thos.s Seckford Esq.r Surveyor or 2nd Judge.*	2. *Rich.d Kingsmill Esq.r Attorney or 3.rd Judge*
3. *George Gorring Esq.r Receiver General*	3. *Wm. Tooke Esq.r Auditor of the Court.*
4. *Marmaduke Servant Usher of the Court.*	4. *Leonard Taylor Mes.ger (with the badge)*

On the right without the Court stands the Queen's Sergeant opposite to him is a Counsellor pleading and at the bottom without the bar stand two Sergeants in their robes & coif.s he on the left of the other is Tho.s Gent Esq.r

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with the nature and duties of that Court, which was as iniquitous in its institution as it was frequently fraudulent and corrupt in its administration, the editor will make no apology for introducing the following account, drawn up by the learned Professor Ward, of Gresham College, and extracted from the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. i., last article:—

"A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES.

"For the better understanding the nature and jurisdiction of this Court, it may not be improper to inquire briefly into the antiquity of wardships in England. Now, by wardships, is here meant the custody, which, upon the decease of a tenant holding by knight's service of the crown, the king had both of the person and estate of the heir during his nonage. And the same may be applied to the heir of a tenant to any other lord who held under him by the like tenure; though such only who held immediately of the crown will be considered here, as they alone came under the cognizance of this Court. It appears from history that England has formerly been governed by different laws, as it became subject to foreigners of different nations, who, as far as they could, introduced the laws of their own country when they settled here. Thus, as Mr. Selden has observed, when this island became subject to the Romans, the inhabitants were governed by their laws.

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'Duravit (sais he) Juris Cæsaris heic regimen, sed pro vario ac mutante subinde rerum statu aliter atque aliter se subinde habens, per annos trecentos, ac sexaginta; id est, a Claudii Cæsaris temporibus usque in imperium Honorii Augusti, seu tempus, quo ab Alarico Gotho Roma capta est; id est, ab anno quasi L. Christo ad annum ejusdem ccccx. aut circiter.' Now, those who are acquainted with the Roman law, very well know that there is nothing in it which bears any affinity to the wardships described above. Nor is there any thing to be found like it in the Anglo-Saxon laws which came afterwards. But, on the contrary, in a law of King Hlotharius, who reigned in the seventh century, it is said—'Si vir moriatur, viventibus uxore et prole, justum est ut proles matrem sequatur; et unus paternorum suorum cognatorum voluntarius fidejussor statuatur facultates ipsius conservandi, usquedum decennis fuerit.' And the like is said in another law of King Ina, made not long after the former, which settled the maintenance and extended the time to adult age. The same also may be observed with regard to the laws of King Edward, who reigned in the eleventh century. Sir Henry Spelman, therefore, thinks that this wardship had its first use in England at the Norman conquest, and that it was a branch of the feudal law then introduced among us. Nor does my Lord Coke attempt to carry it higher. And, indeed, this tenure seems to suit best with such governments, as were both founded, and supported afterwards, by military power. As to the nature of a feude, Cujacius thus defines it:—'Feudum (sais he) est jus prædio

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alieno in perpetuum utendi fruendi, quod pro beneficio dominus dat ea lege, ut qui accipit, sibi fidem et militiæ munus aliudve servitium exhibeat.' By his calling it '*jus prædio*,' &c., it seems to have some affinity with what the Roman laws called an *emphyteusis*. But since nothing appears in the general notion of a feude, as here described, which implies in it the wardship of the body, some have supposed, that although we might receive this also from the Normans, yet, strictly speaking, not as a part of the feudal law. But to proceed to the use of wardships here in England. Lands held of the King were either by knights' service, which drew after it homage, scutage, wardship, and other dependencies; or soccage, which consisted in fealty, tillage, rent, and the like inferior services, exempt from wardship. It is the former of these which comes under our present consideration. And as this tenure of military service was at first created for the defence of the kingdom, binding the tenant to serve in the King's wars for a certain time, for the greater security of providing a successor upon his decease, the law, as has been said, gave to the King the custody of the heir during his minority, together with the profits of the estate. And these minors were called wards, of whom the king was warden or guardian; if males, till they arrived at the age of twenty-one years; and if females, till the age of fourteen. During which time the King had also the care of their education, granting them an allowance for their maintenance, and instruction suitable to their quality. But this wardship of body and lands being,

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on the accession of Henry I., complained of among other grievances of the two preceding reigns, he thereupon promised the restitution of King Edward's laws. And accordingly, by his great charter, in the first year of his reign, he made the following grant with respect to wards:—'Si uxor cum liberis remanserit, dotem quidem et maritationem suam habebit, dum corpus suum legitime servabit; et eam non dabo nisi secundum velle suum; et terræ et liberorum custos erit sive uxor, sive alius propinquorum.' But in the reign of King John the old grievances had been revived, and heightened to that degree, as to engage the barons and other principal tenants of the crown to demand a new charter, which was at length obtained; though not so full as that of King Henry, particularly as to wardships which still remained in the hands of the king. Nor was it altered by the following charter of King Henry III; so that it continued in use till the reign of King Charles II. as will be shewn afterwards. Before a particular court was erected for this service by King Henry VIII., masters or keepers were appointed for the king's wards; and the revenues thereof were answered into the King's Court of Exchequer. Hence, among the officers appointed in each county, there was one called the Escheator, whose business was to take care of such casual profits as fell to the king, and certify the same to that court. Accordingly, upon the death of any of the king's tenants, a commission was issued from thence appointing an inquest for the king's use. This was called 'an office,' and the return made upon such inquisition

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was termed 'an office found.' Hence we so often meet with 'inquisitiones post mortem,' which are the records of such inquests made by the escheator and other persons commissioned for that purpose. But, in the first year of King Henry VIII., it appearing that many flagrant abuses had been committed by escheators and other persons commissioned to inquire into the king's wards, by returning false offices, to the great detriment of some and the utter ruin of others, an Act of Parliament was made in order to put a stop to these grievances. Thus stood this affair until the thirty-second of that prince, when, by another Act of Parliament, a distinct court was erected for this service, called 'The Court of the King's Wards,' which was to be a court of record, with a particular seal, and proper officers appointed for it. The officers mentioned in the act are, first, the master, who alone had power to award process; then the attorney, receiver-general, and two auditors, though both these were considered but as one officer. And, therefore, upon the death of John Perrient, one of the auditors, in the sixth of Edward VI., William Tooke, who survived him, acted alone till the thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth; and after his decease that office was granted to Walter Tooke and William Curle. These several officers, or any three of them, the master being one, were empowered as judges to hold a court; the nature and extent of whose jurisdiction may be seen in the act itself. However, it was usual for the Lords Chief Justices, and sometimes the Lord Chief Baron, to sit as judges' assistants, or council, with the court. Two clerks also were appointed for this Court by the

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Act of Parliament. And the master was empowered to nominate feudaries, escheators, and other ministers of the court. But, in a subsequent Act of the thirty-third of King Henry VIII., mention is made of another officer, called the surveyor, who is named next after the master. By the former of these Acts this court extended only to wards; but by the latter, liveries were annexed to it, and another clerk appointed for that service; from whence it received the additional part of its title, and was called The Court of King's Wards and Liveries, whereby liveries is meant, the delivery of seisin to the heir of the king's tenant in ward, upon suing for it at full age. Great injuries had often been done, as well with regard to liveries as to wards, by the delays, frauds, and exactions of the officers, which had long called for redress. But such was the nature of the evil, as not to admit of an effectual remedy by these statutes of King Henry. Nor could any other perfect cure be found for it, but a total abolition of such tenures. Accordingly, in the eighteenth year of King James I., this was moved in Parliament at the desire of his Majesty; but meeting with obstructions it had not its wished-for effect. So that things continued in the same state through that and the following reign, till 1645; when the Lords and Commons passed an Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and appointed that for the future all tenures should be turned into free and common soccage, which was afterwards confirmed by Cromwell, in 1656. And upon the Restoration of King Charles II., an Act to the like purport received

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the royal sanction, by which this court has been entirely abolished; agreeably to what Lord Coke had long before hoped for, that such a statute might, some time or other, by the authority of Parliament, take effect, and be established. As, therefore, the Court of Wards and Liveries is no longer any part of our law, but purely a matter of history, I have ventured to give a short account of it, which otherwise I should not have thought anyways suitable to my province to have attempted.

"The print which accompanies this account is taken from an ancient original picture, painted on a large skin of parchment near a yard square, and not ill performed, though it may be difficult to ascertain the hand at this distance of time. It represents a view of that court, with the several officers, servants, and others, as convened on some affair which is hearing before them. A more particular explication whereof will be given in the print itself, which, at the desire of his Grace the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, a noble member of this Society (Antiquaries), and the present possessor of the picture, was drawn up by Mr. George Vertue. The place where this court was held is situated chiefly behind that of the Court of Chancery in Westminster Hall, from whence there was a passage into the Court of Wards, and another from thence into the Court of Requests, as appears by a plan published by Mr. Sandford: but now that place is divided into several parts, and applied to other uses."

This account of the Court of Wards, taken

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principally from a small duodecimo, published 1642, and entitled "A Learned Treatise on Wardship. By Sir James Ley, Knight, Earle of Marleborough, Lord Treasurer, and late Atturney of the Court of Wards and Liveries," goes more into its antiquity and the then legally defined objects of its institution; but is deficient in conveying any accurate idea of the abuses which its power over the persons and estates of minors enabled it to perpetrate, either in favour of royalty, the aristocracy, or for bribes. That no man or woman could contract marriage without the consent of this court during minority, is in the foregoing account truly stated; but it should have added, that the king obliged every minor in the kingdom to marry whomsoever he pleased: and, moreover, that he frequently granted or deputed that power as a matter of favour to his courtiers, by which they were enabled, by marrying the ward to one of their own dependants, to realise large sums of money by the bargain; hence arose the suits for wardships, which being granted enabled the favoured person to contract an alliance between any two indifferent persons, taking care that one of the parties should pay handsomely for the accommodation; indeed, so iniquitous was this court, that regardless of all the ties of blood or

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affection, a minor, whether heir or heiress, was sold by the king (or those to whom he had, as a special favour, granted the benefits) to the highest bidder, who became purchaser of the lot after payment of a commission (which sometimes half ruined the estates), interest, and law expenses. To this court, as second judge, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was appointed; and, though the abolition of it by the Long Parliament was one of the important reforms which they effected, still it was confessed by its greatest opponents, that during the period in which he presided or assisted in its judgments, the practices were never so free from corruption and oppression, nor the decisions better founded in justice and equity.* Sir Henry Slingsby, in his "Diary," pp. 16 — 18, gives the following miserable picture of humanity, winding it up with a just, though severe, criticism upon the practices of this court:—

"God keep every man from being an honest man

* As a further illustration of the oppression of this court, the reader is referred to the "Strafford Papers," vol. ii. p. 73, where Mr. Garrard, master of the Charter House, in one of his letters to the Lord Deputy, mentions the number of deaths which had occurred within some very short period, and congratulates him upon the great consequent increase in the revenues of the Court of Wards.

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according to the description is nowadays made of it; y^t w^h was account'd vice is now grown in fashion, and nothing count'd vice; but y^e whole deformity and incommodity is palpable, and this too w^ch we count deform'd goeth so unquietly and staggeringly as our imaginations will apprehend it otherwise upon other circumstances and considerations."

And, after asking where can be found the man who could say of himself that he had never been guilty of the ruin of any body, nor culpable of envy, nor revenge, &c., he says:—

"It is hard to find a man in these times y^t can clear himself of all or some of these. If he be our enemy, envey or revenge shall work in him, and desire to seek our ruine; and if he be our friend, his own interest shall sway in him, so far as to make him falsify his trust, if any such be committed to him, and work his own ends by another man's loss and advantage: and this is commonly, even in matters of wardship, where young children w^thout parents may be bought and sold, not unlike that law for bondmen which gives liberty to use them as one list, so that they slay them not; and yet, notwithstanding, if they continue a day or two and die, they shall not be punished, for he is their money, and so are wards nowadays made money of whether in the hands of friends or strangers. John Goodland, being Feoderie, obtains the wardship of M. Duhurst, and not being able to find a tenure to make him ward, practis'd with his father-in-law y^t married Duhurst's mother, y^t so by y^t means they two

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having confessed a tenure, make Duhurst absolutely ward unto him: so also a lord in this country, who sold his own grandchild, y^t^ was his ward to pass him over a ward unto another: there are not a few examples of this kind."*

In some of Rudyerd's speeches, in the reign of King Charles I., he alludes to his travels in foreign countries, which must have been undertaken subsequently to his appointment to the Court of Wards. It is known that he accompanied his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, on several missions to the Low Countries; and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his own life, edited by Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill, 1744, p. 103, says:—"From Venice, after some stay, I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford and Sir Benjamin Rudier." This was at the latter end of 1614, at which period Sir Dudley Carlton was ambassador at Venice; but it is probable he accompanied Sir Henry Wotton, who was about this time sent on a special mission to the Italian states. Mr. Walpole, in a note to this edition of the "Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury," says:—"Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was

* Selden, Maynard, St. John, and Sir H. Slingsby, with other lawyers, opened these matters (the oppressions, &c. of the Court of Wards) to the House, and the House passed a vote that the Court of Wards be abolished.

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a man in great vogue in that age, a wit and poet, and (he adds, no doubt, in further proof of his merit) the intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, with whose poems Sir Benjamin's are printed."

Between the above period and the Parliament of 1620–1621, little or no information can be obtained respecting the events of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's life. Anthony Wood, and other authorities, mention the fact of his having sat in several parliaments in the reign of James. It does not, however, by reference to the "Parliamentary History," appear that he served previously to 1620, when he was returned for the borough of Portsmouth, together with Sir Daniel Norton. It is more than probable that his election was secured by the influence of Lord Pembroke, who, independently of his great offices of Lord High Steward of His Majesty's household, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was also Governor of that important sea-port. That this was the first parliament to which Rudyerd was returned no doubt can exist, for there is his own declaration to this effect in the subsequent parliament of 1623, in neither of which does he appear to have taken much part in the debates; nor did he, indeed, stand forward prominently until

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the succeeding reign, when he took a most zealous and active part in the proceedings of the House.

Some slight reference to the state of the country at this period is absolutely necessary as an introduction to the speeches of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, which would lose much of their point were the circumstances under which they were spoken not brought immediately under the reader's consideration. The editor, therefore, feels assured that he need not offer any excuse for presenting a short abstract of the principal events of that period.

Speed, in his curious chronicles, in announcing the death of Elizabeth, says, "The tears had scarcely began to flow down the cheeks of the afflicted people, when they were suddenly dried up with the joy of His Majesty's arrival." So, as soon as the joy of that arrival had subsided, and the first transports of novelty were over, history informs us, that the whole reign of James was a struggle with the Parliament for supplies to foster the extravagance of his minions, and not for any useful purpose, either connected with domestic happiness or national honour. Timid and irresolute in every action of his life except the bold and preposterous assertion of the claims under

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his prerogative, parliament after parliament was summoned with no other view than the supplies he hoped to obtain, and as suddenly dissolved, because they came not up to his expectations. He believed that, by his learning and knowledge of matters of state, he could by diplomacy manage the foreign policy entirely to the advantage of the country; and that in domestic affairs, he not only could not err, but that the empire would believe no otherwise. As to Parliament, he considered it a species of machinery, to be governed by one sovereign engineer, who never should allow its action to be increased, or its powers to be employed beyond that which seemed to him its only utility, the raising of money.

But things had undergone a great change. Parliaments were summoned in the same form —were holden in the same place,—yet were they not the same parliaments. A change had taken place in the sentiments of the higher orders, and country gentlemen of high birth and fortune now sought a seat in parliament as an honour, which till then they had considered a burden, from which all who had influence obtained relief. The glories of victory, or the disasters of defeat, would have occupied the attentions of the wisest, and engaged the

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services of the chivalrous, but a long peace left no other occupation to the energetic but the thoughts of liberty.

In the parliament which was summoned to meet on the 16th January, 1620–21, but which was, as appears by the formula of the House, prorogued by proclamation until the 23d, and then again to the 30th, "divers great and weighty considerations of state occasioning these prorogations." Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was, as before stated, returned for the borough of Portsmouth. The king's proclamation of advice for the election of good and proper members to sit in the House of Commons is too curious a document to be omitted:—

"By the King.—Having occasion at this time to deliberate upon divers great and weighty affairs, highly tending to the contynuance and further settling of the peaceable government and safety of our kingdom, whereof God hath given us the charge, we have thought good, according to the laudable custom of our progenitors, to crave the advice and assistance herein of our well-affected subjects, by calling a Parliament, to begin upon the 16th day of January next; and though there were no more to be had in consideration but the present face of Christendom, so miserably and dangerously distracted at this tyme, besides a number of other great and weightie affairs that we are to resolve upon, we have more than sufficient reason to

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wish and desire, if ever at any time, especially at this, that the knights and burgesses that shall serve in parliament be, according to the ould institutions, chosen of the gravest, ablest, and best-affected myndes that maie be found. And therefore out of the care of the common good, whereof themselves are also participant, we do hereby admonish all our loving subjects that have votes in elections, that choise be made of persons approved for their sinceryty in religion, and not of any that is noted, either of superstitious blindness one way, or of turbulent humours another way, but of such as shall be found zealous and obedient children to this their mother Church. And, as to the knightes of shires, that they cast their eyes upon worthiest men of all sorts, of knightes and gentlemen that are guides and lightes of their counties, of good experience, and of great integrity. Men that lead honest and exemplarie lief in their counties, doing us good service therein; and no bankrupts and discontented persons, that cannot fish but in troubled waters. And for the burgesses, that they make choise of them that best understand the state of their countries, citties, or burroughes; and where such may not be had within their corporations, then of other grave and discreet men, fit to serve in so worthy an assembly. For we may well foresee how ill effects the bad choise of unfit men may produce, if the house should be supplied with bankrupts and necessitous persons, that may desire long parliaments for their private protections; or with young and inexperienced men, that are not ripe and mature for so grave a

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councell; or with men of mean qualities in themselves, who maye only serve to applaud the opinion of others on whom they depend; nor yett with curious and wrangling lawyers, who may seek reputation by stirring needless questions. But we wish all our good subjects to understand theis our admonitions, as that we noe way mean to bar them of their lawfull freedom in election, according to the fundamental laws and laudable custom of this our kingdome, and especially in the times of good and settled government. Witness ourself at Theobauld, this sixth day of November."

However ridiculous the style of this address to the people may appear, it cannot be denied that it contains much good advice; though, as an emanation of the monarch's brain — of a single individual, unaided by responsible ministers, and addressed to all the electors of the kingdom, it bears the strongest impress of pedantry and presumption. On the opening of the session, James commenced his speech to both houses with a dissertation upon the "general condition of a parliament," fraught with all manner of learned absurdities and biblical imitations. He began by declaring that "the monarch is the head, and the body is the three estates, which are called in all monarchies a parl., which was used and created by monarchy: for kings were before parlia-

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ments." After this fine exordium, he proceeded to tell them "how vain a thing it is for parliament to press to be popular: that the House of Commons are the authors of sustenance to him, to supply his necessities; and this (he said) is the proper use of parliaments." And he cunningly added, "the people owe a kind of tribute to their king as a thankfulness for his love to them, and, according to the supplies, he is to afford them mercy and justice." He then entered upon his reasons for calling the parliament, firstly to make good laws; for, *ex malis moribus bonæ leges oriuntur:* for the older the world grows, the more wise, the more crafty, the more sinful men become, therefore the necessity for new laws against new crimes. Afterwards, he discussed the question of religion, and declared that his works and writings were a guarantee against his toleration of the Romish tenets, which was apprehended by the people, by reason of the negotiation with Spain for the marriage of his son; he affirmed that he was a martyr to the aspersions of the idle; but that, after this his solemn declaration, he must not be blamed if he punished with severity those who should hereafter traduce him upon this point. Then, with an appearance of great candour, he

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admitted that the main object of his calling them together, "to speak the truth," as he said, "was the supply of his necessities;" all of which he set forth, declaring his good intentions towards the Elector, king of Bohemia, and how much he had already befriended him, to the extent of nearly 200,000*l.* "The parliament," as Hume observes, "seemed determined to sacrifice every thing, in order to maintain a good understanding with their prince. They made no mention of the new customs which had been so eagerly disputed in the last parliament; they would not allow any allusion to the former arbitrary act of the King in imprisoning the members of the House; and so satisfied were they, that, contrary to the principle laid down by their predecessors, at the beginning of the session they voted the King two subsidies." The Commons soon, though with much moderation, proceeded to the examination of grievances; and then followed the impeachment of Mompesson and Michel for exaction, in granting licenses to the keepers of inns and alehouses, and for the gold and silver thread monopolies; in which there is no doubt that Buckingham and his brother, who was named in the patent, had a large share in the profits arising from

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the exclusive sale of these spurious articles, which did not contain above one-fourth of the precious metals. The King, after Michel and Mompesson, the latter of whom had flown the country, were sentenced by the Lords, revoked the patents he had granted them; and, to please that body, as well as to make a great show of his impartiality, he added "perpetual banishment" as a tenth article to their already sufficiently severe sentence. The most important domestic occurrence during the sitting of this parliament, was the accusation and conviction for bribery of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Alban's, the brightest ornament of the English nation — the father of natural philosophy — a jewel upon which Nature had imprinted a defect, as though jealous that his light should outshine that of all created men; and had thus curbed any rising exultation over his fellow-creatures, by reason of his transcendant abilities, by permitting the weak vanities of the flesh to obtain a momentary mastery over his ordinary wonderful strength of judgment, morality, and reflection.

A passage in the King's third speech to this parliament (1621) seemed almost to lead to the

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conviction of this great man. In that speech, wherein the King declared much against corruption and bribery in judicatures, he said, "That no person should be preferred before the public good, and that no offender should go unpunished." It is but justice to the memory of James to acknowledge two points, in reference to his conduct in this affair, which reflect honour upon his memory; firstly, the talent for government which he displayed, by allowing so great a man to be brought as a criminal to the bar of justice, and suffering no influence to step between him and the sentence due to his delinquencies; and, secondly, the kind-heartedness and sincerity of affection with which he afterwards supported his fallen friend and favourite under that affliction which surpasses all others—the loss of reputation. Attempts have been made to destroy these only good points in his character, by the imputation that he was actuated solely by the desire to save his favourite Buckingham, who is supposed to have participated in the fruits of his corruption.

On the 28th May, 1621, the Lord Treasurer informed the House that the King intended to adjourn the parliament. James was far from pleased at the scanty subsidies they had afforded

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him at the commencement, and though he had promised them to reform the abuses and remove all cause of grievance, he saw the intentions of the House, and determined to frustrate them. The reasons he gave for the adjournment were "The state of public health, (the plague then raging in London), and the fear of infection from the assembling of so vast a concourse of people: the state of the country, which required the attention of the Lords Lieutenants and the Justices of the Peace: that the courts at Westminster had not had their ordinary sittings: that the profits of his Majesty's revenues were at a stand," &c. And his reasons for adjournment rather than prorogation were, "1st. That the former keeps a kind of being in parliament; 2d. That many good bills preferred were not yet passed, and which would end with the session unless special provision were made for the same; 4th. That his Majesty had not yet prepared his free and general pardon, which he intended for the better as well as the meaner sort of people; and, 5th. That his Majesty had not had time to advise upon the many bills exhibited, which should be accepted, which refused." To which reasons the Lord Treasurer added, "That the King had already redressed the corruptions of the chief courts of

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justice, and by his proclamation called in the patent of inns and hosteries," and forbidden bills of conformities, which were things very grevious to his subjects; so his Majesty cherished the bills against informers, against the abuse of *supersedeas*, against monopolies, against recusants, and for limitation of suits, with an intent to perfect them. He promised also to reform divers grievances to the people; "wherefore (said the Treasurer) it is his Majesty's pleasure that you perfect the acts in the House by Saturday next, upon which day he would hear any thing concerning grievances; and that on Monday, the 4th June, his Majesty would send a commission for the adjournment of this parliament." The Commons were highly indignant at this announcement, which seemed contrary to all precedent; and Sir Samuel Sands observed, that "the House had three things to consider,—his Majesty's honour, the good of the state, and their own reputation: he never heard of an adjournment by commission; prorogations have used to be made by the King or by commission, but adjournments have ever been by the houses themselves only." The result of the debate was a petition to the King to sit until the end of the term; but notwithstand-

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ing some learned arguments and very sharp speeches, in which particularly a Mr. Alford, member for Colchester, declared having seen an ancient roll in which the King's power to break off the parliament when bills in hand were not concluded, was doubted; all the satisfaction they derived was the King's desire that they might select such bills as they wished him to assent to, and he would either make a session or an adjournment, at his pleasure: and he begged them further to husband well the time, for that on Wednesday he was determined to hold his day either for adjournment or prorogation of parliament. Lastly, he desired that the business of Sir John Bennet, the Judge of the Prerogative Court, accused of bribery, be hastened. The passion of the House was so great upon the receipt of this message, that scarcely any member had courage enough to address it. Sir Lionel Cranfield, then the Master of the Court of Wards, and colleague of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, shortly afterwards created Earl of Middlesex, attempted to address the House, and began by observing "upon the difficulty of his situation between his duty to the King and his duty to the House;" but they cried him down, and would neither listen to him nor

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to Sir Henry Vane, the Comptroller of the King's House, who moved that the Master of the Wards be heard. And when Sir Humphrey May, then Chancellor of the Duchy, "moved that the liberties of the House were overthrown unless every man was permitted to speak," the House rose in great excitement and confusion, calling out for the message to the Lords.

In the meantime the Lords were occupied in the proceedings against Dr. Field, Bishop of Landaff, for the part he took with the Lord Chancellor Bacon, in the affair of the Egertons; Dr. Field, not then a bishop, having undertaken for a bond of 10,000*l.* to him and another, to procure a judgment in favour of the claim set up for the recovery of an inheritance by the obligor, Edward Egerton. The Peers were also engaged in the matter of Sir John Bennet, another case of wholesale bribery and judicial corruption, committed by him while Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. On the 30th May the Commons resumed the debate upon the proposed adjournment, when Sir G. Moore desired there might be a clause added to the bill for the continuance of statutes, to the effect that, "notwithstanding this session doth end, yet the bills may continue in the same forwardness

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which they are now in;" when our author, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, fearing the result of any ill-judged motion, spoke in a tone which betrayed his anxiety for moderation, and founded his argument upon the good the country had derived from the King's gracious permission that they should inquire into and punish the great delinquent whose crimes had lately been brought to light. It is the first speech of Sir Benjamin's recorded in the "Parl. Hist."

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd said, "We are much bound to his Majesty for his grace and favour in giving us leave to touch businesses of a high nature, and in them to go so far as to meddle with great persons on whom we have passed judgment,—which judgment is better far than many good laws, for laws will fall asleep, when the fright of these judgments will keep men awake to do their duties." He concluded by observing how much "he desired that they (the Commons) may so temper themselves and their passions as that they might part out of the House like a sweet odour." Which speech was very smartly replied to by Sir Richard Grosvenor, the ancestor of the present Marquess of Westminster, who declared, "We have hitherto sang nothing but *placebo*, and danced to the King's heart; but it hath now

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pleased his Majesty to change this tune, and make us sing nothing but *lachrymæ*, and dance 'loath to depart.' He wished our hearts were transparent, for then he would not send us home with such a hazard of all our safeties and reputations to those who sent us thither—where we are now, our fortune hath placed us: where we would be, our hopes carry us. He would rather trust the King with the whole than to go with so small fruit of so great labours, and that we should not now meddle any further with any bills or grievances." However, faithful to his word, the King adjourned the parliament until the 14th November. Upon their reassembling, the Commons took into consideration the distressed state of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth, who were now living in the greatest poverty in Holland; and the persecutions of the reformed religion: and they framed a spirited remonstrance, going into all the details; alluding to the power of Austria, the progress of the Catholic religion in England, the King's lenity towards its professors which had increased their arrogance, the conquests of Austria, and the intended Spanish match, which held out to the Papists the prospects of an entire toleration of their religion. They proposed, to remedy these evils, that the

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King should immediately undertake the defence of the Palatinate; declare war against Spain; that he should not negotiate for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with any other than a Protestant; that the children of Popish recusants should be taken from them, to be educated by Protestants; and that all fines should be rigorously exacted against Catholics. James, highly incensed at this conduct of the House, wrote a letter to the Speaker, in which he desired the Commons to be cautious how they commented upon the Spanish marriage, and plainly told them not to meddle with affairs which did not concern them; he then alluded to the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys, and intimated his intention to chastise the insolence of any member of the House. The Commons, not intimidated by his threats, answered him with great firmness, insisting upon their privileges, which, as their undoubted right, they begged he would not attempt to violate. The parliament was roused by this fresh instance of the King's assumption of despotic power, and feeling that it was backed by the people, sent a fresh remonstrance, declaring their right to interfere with their advice in all matters of government, and that it was their inalienable right to possess entire freedom of speech; and

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that if this right were abused the House alone could take cognisance of the offence. The King, in answer to this appeal, declared that so long as they kept in their proper bounds he had no desire to encroach upon their privileges; at the same time he gently hinted that from him alone could they derive the privileges to which they laid claim. The King shortly afterwards, on the 4th June, prorogued the parliament, in conformity with the threat which he had held out to the Commons.

Nothing very material occurred during the recess. The King intended and issued a proclamation to adjourn the parliament from the 11th November, in the year 1621, until the coming February; but he changed his mind for urgent causes, and they assembled on the 20th November. On the calling of the House, November 21, Sir Edwin Sandys was missed; when the Speaker delivered a letter which he had received from him, signifying that he had been discharged from confinement by an order of the King, dated November 6th, but that sickness prevented his attending the House, and therefore he desired to be pardoned for his absence. This arbitrary act of the monarch of course produced much strong and animated discussion, in which Lord Clifford, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and

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others prayed the House to proceed to business; but Sir Robert Crane, who would listen to no such entreaties in a matter of privilege, said energetically, that if Sir Edwin Sandys were confined for state business, he would not meddle with it; but if, on the contrary, it were for parliament business, he desired it might be cleared. Finally, the House, on the protestation of Mr. Secretary Calvert that Sir E. Sandys had not been imprisoned for any thing said or done in parliament, proceeded to business, though many and most disbelieved it, and insisted upon the Secretary's protestation being entered on the Journals of the House. On the 26th, Sir Dudley Digges made a powerful speech in favour of the Palatinate, which was seconded by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who said, "That our religion was battered abroad and moulders here at home: that he thought there was none that valued his soul at so low a rate, as that he would not give and spend his life and goods for the defence of it: that there was now a fair and thrifty way opened to them for the defence of their religion, and the recovery of the right and inheritance of the King's children. He desired, therefore, that this House would consider of a present supply of the army in the Palatinate, that that business

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and the dangers which may come thereby be not wound up on delays till they break, and so our supply come too late." The debate was continued many days, all parties seeming desirous to aid the cause of the Palsgrave. In the meantime, on December 3d, the petition of the Commons against the Spanish match, popery, &c. produced another insulting letter from the King to the Speaker, in which he desired the House not to meddle with mysteries of state, which the Commons very properly debated. Then followed the apologetic petition to the king; all which proceedings so annoyed the *peaceful* James, that, after satisfying his own mind with scholastic and jesuitical replies to their petitions, and striking their protestation concerning privileges out of the Journals of the House, he dissolved the parliament, and committed several of the members to prison, January 6th, 1620–1621.

The foreign policy at this period consisted entirely in the desire of the King to obtain a restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law, the Elector Frederick, who had in 1619 accepted the proffered crown of Bohemia—a circumstance which certainly found no favour in the eyes of James, who had too great an idea of the *jus divinum* of kings to be gratified by the exaltation

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of his son-in-law, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, to a throne, to which he said "I know not that he hath any right;" and, indeed, it would have proved happier for him, and the amiable, but most unfortunate partner in his miseries, the Princess Elizabeth, had James been consulted before he took that step which led him to ruin. However, the Protestant party in all countries, and particularly in England, hailed the circumstance as a triumph of religion; of which no stronger proof can be given than the letter of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir Robert Naunton, who had been for some years the colleague of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, as Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, but was then appointed Secretary of State. In one part of which letter he says,—"It is a great honour to our King to have such a son to be made a king, and methinks I do in this, and that of Hungary, foresee the work of God; that by piece and piece the kings of the earth that give their power to the beast shall now leave the whore to desolation, as St. John saies:" but, unfortunately for Frederick, the acceptance of a crown was the prelude to those misfortunes which had scarcely ever been equalled in the person of a royal prince. Opposed to the whole power of Germany, which was assisted by the

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Spanish troops, his general, Arnholt, was beaten in the famous battle of Prague, which took place on the 8th of November, 1620; when the Imperial forces, under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and Bucquoy, utterly ruined the whole army of King Frederick, his soldiers mutinying and refusing to fight for want of pay, though he had it by him, and it became a prey to his enemies after the battle. The King and Queen were obliged to fly for safety to Holland. The Count Mansfield being the only general in their interest who was enabled to annoy the enemy with a flying army, which became a continual vexation to the Emperor, harassing his countries, and everywhere forcing contributions.

The distresses of the King and Queen of Bohemia created as much sorrow in the minds of the English people of all ranks, as their elevation had before given joy. So strong was the sympathy of the last parliament in favour of the prince and his amiable princess, that, prior to their first adjournment on the 4th June, taking to heart the miseries of the Palatinate, they came to a resolution, "that the drawing back in so good a cause should not be charged on their slackness;" and further, "that upon any signification of His Majesty's pleasure in

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Parliament, they would assist him with their lives and fortunes."

Of the affection of all classes of the Protestant community towards the Princess Elizabeth, the wife of the Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, no stronger proof can be given than the flagrantly iniquitous and barbarous sentence which this Parliament passed upon Mr. Floyde, a gentleman of fortune, a barrister, and county magistrate, for speaking despitefully of the King's daughter and son-in-law, the Palsgrave. The Attorney-General in his charge, observing, that "The said Edward Floyde did term the Prince Palatine and the Princess by the ignominious and despiteful terms of 'Goodman Palsgrave, and Goodwife Palsgrave;' calling him that 'poor lad,' and scoffingly, with great jollity, related a stage play of the Princess running away with two children, the one under one arm, and the other under the other arm, and the third in her belly, with the Palsgrave following with the cradle;" all of which Mr. Floyde declared it was useless to deny, the words having been sworn to, though he had no recollection of them; and, if spoken, not intended despitefully against the Princess. Yet, notwithstanding, he was sentenced by the Lords, and it was pronounced by the Lord Chief Justice,

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sitting as Speaker of the House of Lords, in these words:—"The Lords spiritual and temporal, &c., do adjudge, 1st. That Edward Floyde shall be incapable to bear arms as a gentleman; and that he shall ever be held as an infamous person; and his testimony not to be taken in any court or cause. 2d. That on Monday next, in the morning, he shall be brought to Westminster Hall, there to be set on horseback, with his face to the horse tail, holding the tail in his hand, with papers on his head and breast declaring his offence; and so to ride to the pillory in Cheapside, to stand two hours in it, to be branded with the letter K in his forehead. 3d. To be whipt at a cart's tail, on the first day of the next term, from the Fleet to Westminster Hall, with a paper on his head declaring the offence, and then to stand in the pillory there for two hours. 4. That he shall be fined to the King in 5000*l.* 5. That he shall be imprisoned in Newgate during his life." Every part of which sentence, Cambden says, was executed on Floyde, though the Lords' journals state, that "on a motion of the Prince Charles, a few days after, the punishment of whipping was suspended." Language is scarcely powerful enough to depict the horror with which one reviews the proceedings of this epoch, for though the germs of liberty were sown in the

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minds of men, and occasionally an honest and humane indignation was excited by atrocious acts of oppression; still liberty (to the very perfection of which every candid mind will admit we have now arrived, and beyond which it were visionary to hope or expect its consummation) must have been little understood, its principles but sorely defined, when so barbarous a punishment should have resulted from words privately spoken, perhaps in joke; but at all events, of a perfectly harmless character, except as to the offence they may have offered to the religious prejudices of the Protestants, who regarded the Princess Elizabeth and her husband as the champions of that religion in the North. In the midst of that spirit of agitation which, by means of artful demagogues, is now, in the nineteenth century, endeavouring to excite the people to the most criminal opposition to the mild and benignant laws under which we live, what heartfelt satisfaction it must give to the reflective to know that we have outlived such atrocities, and that (unless forced by conspiracies and unlawful combinations, dangerous alike to life and property, the fear of which alone would ever compel the legislature to resort to more penal acts) reason has gained such an empire over the minds of men that every step we take must be

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a further progress in the principles of mercy and humanity.

The King, however, still persevered in his negotiations, believing that his character for learning and equity would at least induce so great a respect for his opinions as would justify him in the hopes of obtaining a restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law, the Elector; but the Emperor, however he might have amused King James, never intended to part with that territory, which he hoped to bestow upon a prince who would keep up the interests of the Roman faith; and at this time it was almost impossible, even for the Emperor, to have come to any conclusion without the concurrence of the Duke of Bavaria, who was a creditor of the empire to a great extent, and to whom Ferdinand had mortgaged several territories for his assistance in the war against the Count Palatine, King of Bohemia, and had, moreover, by his authority with the Imperial Diet at Ratisbon, transferred the electoral dignity from the Palatine to him. James had advised his son-in-law to disband the army which was then in the field, under the command of the Count Mansfeldt, under colour of submission to the Emperor; but, finding that this step led to no better result, he turned his thoughts to the long-intended marriage of Prince Charles

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with the Infanta of Spain, by which he now imagined he should not only enrich himself by the splendid portion she would bring, but also secure a restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law and his grandchildren.

The romantic journey of Prince Charles and the favourite Buckingham to Spain, and the splendour of their reception by Philip IV., are too well known to require any account here. In order to pave the way to the accomplishment of his wishes, James knew how necessary it was to soften the rigours against the Catholics; and, for this purpose, knowing it would be welcome news to the Spaniards, he issued public orders for discharging all Popish recusants who were imprisoned, and it was expected that he would forbid the execution of the penal laws enacted against them.

This step, so much in opposition to the rigid spirit of the people, James justified by an argument, which was founded more in convenience than conviction: he said, "He had been making applications to all foreign princes for indulgence to the distressed Protestants;" and he was answered by objections derived from the severity of the English laws against Catholics: and Hume says, "It might have occurred to him, that, if the extremity of religious zeal were ever to abate

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among Christian sects, one of them must begin, and nothing would be more honourable for England than to have led the way in sentiments so wise and honourable." By this act, which was highly politic, and had its effect, so far as regarded the Court of Spain, James raised the hopes of the English Catholics in the same ratio that he depressed the spirits of the Puritans and lovers of civil liberty, as they were then called, the latter of whom were alarmed at such an overstretch of his prerogative. Independently of this act, and the public treaty of marriage, James had sworn to the King of Spain that all the penal laws enacted against Catholics should be suspended, and that he would procure their repeal in Parliament, and grant a toleration for the exercise of their religion in private houses. Had these articles been made known, it is impossible to imagine to what lengths popular frenzy might have carried the people; but, fortunately for the sake of public order, the dishonourable conduct of Buckingham put an end to the negotiation upon the treaty of marriage, by a false representation of the insincerity of the Spanish Court, and the want of power in the King of Spain, even if he had the inclination, to cause a restitution of the Palatinate, which was then entirely in the hands of the Emperor

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and the Duke of Bavaria. Buckingham, who had no pretensions to the character of a minister, must have practised great deception with the King before he could have gained his consent to a rupture with Spain, and the loss of two millions, the marriage-portion of the Infanta; but he was subtle enough to know that his inclination was backed by the people and Parliament, who had always opposed the match. The King of Spain, foreseeing the consequences of the breaking of the treaties, which he had every reason to believe was brought about by the good offices of Buckingham, ordered preparations for war throughout his dominions.

It was on the 5th of October, 1622, that the Prince, with the universal joy of the people, arrived at Portsmouth; and he was welcomed and received at his arrival in London with such bonfires, and other marks of rejoicings, that the old chroniclers observe, "the city seemed all on flame." Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was not behindhand in paying his respects to the heir-apparent, as his congratulatory verses addressed to the Prince clearly testify.*

Things had now arrived at such a fearful pitch, that the King saw no prospect of relief but

* See Appendix.

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by an outward submission to Parliament, which he, for once, correctly imagined he could manage better by seeking their advice, than hitherto by his authoritative dictation.

In the latter end of February 1623, a Parliament was summoned, and his Majesty, in his speech to both Houses, declared that he had assembled them at that time to impart a secret, and matter of great importance, as could be, to his state; wherein, says he, "I crave your best and safest advice and counsel, according as the writ whereby you were assembled imports; 'that the King would advise with you in matters concerning his estate and dignity:'" he then alluded to the affront he had received from Spain, and condescended to ask their advice with regard to the treaty for the marriage of his son.

On the 21st of February, the Commons choose and present Sir Thomas Crew for their Speaker, which choice was approved by the King; and on the 1st of March, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who was returned to this Parliament for the borough of Wilton, the property of the Earl of Pembroke, made the following speech, which is copied from the Harleian MSS. This speech was made upon the conclusion of the Duke of Buckingham's narrative to both Houses of Parliament of the journey

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into Spain, and the breaking of the treaties, all of which was attested by the Prince, and is headed:—

"*Benjamin Rudier's Speech about the Two Treaties, taken* verbatim *as he spake it: being the first speech made touching that great business of the Treaties.*—1° Martii, 1623.

"Mr. Speaker,—We are bound to bless God that we are well again in this place; and we ought to acknowledge His Majesty's favour towards us, and his confidence in us, in that he is graciously pleased to trust us with soe great affairs as we are now to handle; for what can be greater in consequence, or greater in consent, then the present treatie of the marriage with Spain, the restitution of the Palatinate, and the consideration of all Christendome as it now stands in reference to this kingdom? It is true we have a hard after-game to play, but that should bind us now, as a spurre, to quicken our industry and dispatch; and seeing the Prince hath made a posting journey into Spain for discovery, let us not be slow-paced in the remedies. In which journey His Highness hath exposed to the world his courage in undertaking it, his wisdome in managing it, and the extreme goodness that actuated and produced the result, prove to the world the talent naturally in him, and how much he is enabled for great councells and resolutions. God be then praised for his happy return.

"For the marriage, it is a saying in state, that a king, as many daughters as he hath, hath so many

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waies to deceive his neighbours. This saying the King of Spain hath made good to our apparent prejudice. But now His Majesty is pleased to deliver the business unto us as *res integra*, and to declare, that he took this oath with this exception, *salua Republica.* Now, wherefore this matter be for the good of the estate, it were no other than greate to resolve it, than those which are already move to our hand; for since the beginning of this treatie, and most by color of it, we have left the Palatinate altogether, and almost all the party of the religion abroade, besides a great bulk of papistrie growne and knotted within our owne bowells at home; I am sure this is neither *pro salute reipublicæ*, nor *pro salute animæ;* but His Majestie had good endes in it if he had not met with as good men as himself. Let it now be principally our care, Mr. Speaker, to redevise our religion, for whosoever will not endeavour to save that, let him not look to be saved by it. When I come to consider what is to be done in this great business of the marriage, there are certainly but two waies, either to follow our treatie, or to break it off. * * * *

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[Here the MS. is defective.] * * *

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* * until the Prince's coming into Spain; and shall we believe the Spaniard to be so volatile and uncertaine in his course as to alter a ground of estate for a compliment? For they interpreted the Prince's journey no otherwise, so that if we go on we shall but make ourselves fitt to be tamely caught in a net, which

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is the poorest and basest way of being destroyed. If we brake off the treatie, we must make good the breech, we must maintain it; and the likeliest way is by a warre, which is the manlier and the more English way, and though we have no warre presentlie, yet it is fit we should presentlie provide as if we had one, towards which let us a little consider the state of provision as it concerns us. All our party of the religion in Germany is scattered and dispirited; in France weakened and suppresst; the Low Countries is the most entire, but that exceedinglie threatened, the whole power of the Emp. and the King of Spain coming down upon it; nothing to divert, nothing to give it breath; Bethlem Gabor retired; Count Mansfield's army disolved, besides a rotten faction of Arminians amongst their soldiers which is likely to hasten them to ruin by a revolt, if any place of importance should be gotten from them, soe as the Low Countries is as likely to be lost now, as it would have been heretofore, towne by towne: and let us the rather be sensible of this, for those inestimable jewells of this crowne, which they now have, and have long had in their keeping. Let us speake of the Low Countrymen as we will; I am sure the Low Country is our outworke, which, if it be taken, we shall be more than in danger. Believe it, Mr. Speaker, the day of the loss of the Low Countries will be no end of a holliday to us.

"For the Palatinate, which is the last busines, His Majesty, by the Duke of Buck. left it to our considerations. You have heard the King of

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Spain's answer to His Majestie, suitable to the rest of his proceedings, an answerlesse answer. And, indeed, in my poore opinion, the demand of the Palatinate was too little grosse, for they could make noe better answer to their owne advantage than to say they would restore it, though they never meant it; it being a business of soe many yeers, and will ask so much time to set you right together as they would be able to compass all their owne ends before that would be resolved though they intended it. Soe that, to conclude, Mr. Speaker, my opinion on the whole matter is, that we should humblie advise His Majestie absolutely to dissolve the Treaties for the marriage and for the Palatinate, and intreate the Lords to joyne with us, humbly to move His Majestie quickly to declare them broken; for until that be done, his friends will hold him in continual jealosie. Then, that His Majestie would enter into a confederation with his friendes abroade, and endeavour to re-collect and inspirite the scattered and broken party of the religion in Germany. That he would speedily raise an abundent supply of soldiours. That he would strengthen his fortes within this kingdome. That he would send out a competent number of shippes to divert and resist such dangers as may happen. That he would really and roundlie assist the Low Countries; and whensoever he intends to make a warre for the Palatinate, that he would make it underhand, by way of diversion, to save charges; whither every younger brother that hath got 20*l.* in his purse and his arms may go stocked for profession and course of life. * * * And then the Low Countries, no

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doubt, will be willing and ready to assist us for their own interest, which is the motive of all estates. These are the points, Mr. Speaker, which I thought fit to open, shortly to touch, and I leave them to be better debated by better judgments."

Both Houses of Parliament justified the Duke in his narrative, after they had heard a speech from the King full of his confidence in the propriety of Buckingham's conduct, whom he described as perfect, because he was his pupil, his own making, and his own image.

On the 11th of the same month, "the Chancellor of the Exchequer reported to the House some particulars relating to the King's present debts occasioned by some late expenses, and particularly the long and deceitful treaties he had entered into, that from the year 1617 the King had spent 104,500*l.* in entertainments of ambassadors sent hither, charge of the naval expedition against the pirates, on ship for the Prince's journey, money taken up by the Prince in Spain, &c.; and that there was a sum of 80,000*l.*, together with interest, due to the King of Denmark."

"The next," says "The Parliamentary History of England," (from which the above extract is quoted, vol. i. p. 1394), "that spoke was Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who proved, in the succeed-

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ing reign, a great orator in the house." Then follows an abstract of his speech; but as it might be more interesting to the reader to have it entire, the following is copied from the MSS. in the Harleian Library, and is entitled,

"*Sir Benjamin Rudyerd concerning assistance to be yealded for the support of the advise to dissolve the Treaties. March* 11*th*, 1623. *The first upon that day.*

"Mr. Speaker,—Wee have heard and we have read His Majestie's loving and wise answer to our advise, agreable to the goodness of his nature and the greatness of his judgment; for wherein can he better express his affection towards us then (according to his first comparison, wherein he called himself the husband, and the people his wife) now to woe us afresh by declaring his extraordinary desire to be in love with Parliaments, and that he would most gladlie spend his daies in this commerce and conversation with us. Besides His Majesty hath purposed to take notice of our love and respect to him by giving us thanks for quenching some distempered sparks which were cast in amongst us. I presume so well of the tenor of this house that His Majestie's thanks shall not be lost upon us, but they will rather encourage us to a further deserving. Let us cherish His Majestie's declared inclination to Parliaments; for, believe it, Mr. Speaker, the ill-success of Parliaments hath been the cause of all the ills which have happened to this kingdome, even of those evils which we now seeke to redresse in this place. And let us not lay all the

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blame upon the king; for we have had our own heats and our owne passions. I love the libertie of this house as well as any man that is in it; yet would I be loath to kill it with too strict an enflaming; we may strain it soe hard as to stifle it; let us not be over-curious and ingenious in our owne overthrow; for I assure you, Mr. Speaker, we may blowe up this house without gunpowder, we may do it with our own passions, but woe be to him that contributes any thing towards it: as long as we maintaine Parliaments we can never want libertie.

"Besides, Mr. Speaker, let us bethinke ourselves what hath been the cause of calling us hither at this time. Hath it not been the Prince's happie return out of Spaine? who, to the hazard of his invaluable person and the eternal praise of his wisdome, hath given a happie turn to the affairs of Christendome, if we make a right use of it. Let us seriously consider his interests, and not distaste him also with Parliaments, for then are we lost from generation to generation. I am the more vehement in this busines, because I am afraide, if this Parliament faile, it will be the last of Parliaments; if it go well on, it will be the beginning of many and much good hereafter. Let every man lay this to his heart. And thus much by way of preparation.

"Now, by favour of the House, I will speake something, and that brieflie * * * we are to acknowledge His Majestie's judgment * *

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[the MS. is much torn.] * * *

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Let us not affright ourselves with an opinion of the vast charge of undertaking a great warre presentlie, let us rather take into consideration that which is next us, our securitie and defence. Certainly the estate of Spaine hath a good while proved our inclination to breaking. And I am sure that that estate feares no kingdome for an enemy so much as this. So that my great doubte is, that they will make some attempt presentlie to disorder us. Wherefore my opinion is, that we should entreate the Lords to joyne with us in constituting a committee (in the nature of a councell of warre) of some expert members of both Houses, and to call others to assist them in these particulars; for the strengthening of forts within the kingdome; for setting out a fleete; for assisting the Low Countries, which is a mainé part of our security. And this is all which we shall be able to do this summer.

" For the charge I will not speake what it should be. We have heard from an honorable and judicious member of this House* an exact relation of the weakness of the K.'s estate, what he hath spent in ambassies, in the Palatinate, of his debt to the King of Denmarke, and of the charge of the Prince's journey into Spain, which (whilst he was gone) was for the honor of the kingdome; and it may prove, Mr. Speaker, the best spent money this kingdome hath spent in some ages. Wherefore, to conclude, I hold it fitt, that to relieve his Majesty, and to sweeten him towards us, we should make him a proportionable

* The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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present for his own particular, besides the charge of our general defence. And what we doe, let us do quicklie, least we repent too late."

This motion was seconded by Sir Edward Sackville (afterwards Earl of Dorset) in a very powerful speech, in the conclusion of which he said:—

"He that would take another course, and have grievances first preferred; if he wished that out of good to his country, as unwilling to innovate antient proceedings; of this man I will only say, *Optime sentit Cato, set nocet inderdum reipublicæ.* But if there be any other, who, out of a corrupt and imposthume heart, looking to false and foreign ends, would endeavour to put a partition-wall between the King and his people; this man I dare pronounce neither good subject, nor good Englishman, nor good Christian; but the agent of base and beggarly promoters, needy and greedy projectors, and a friend to those monsters which I hope have no generation; who, not born to any fortune, nor have virtue nor industry by which they might hope to obtain any, yet, like harpies, greedy to devour other men's possessions, care not what way they take to become masters of them, slighting the latter day of judgment, so they may rest secured from yielding any account in this world. I have no more to say, but that God would be pleased to incline our hearts to do that which may be most for his glory, next for the King's service, then for the country's happiness."

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The result of these deliberations was the determination of his Majesty to break the treaties, which news excited universal joy, and bonfires were made in all parts of London.

On the 19th of March, upon the further discussion of the supply for these purposes, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd made the following speech, copied from the same MSS. collection, and entitled,

"*Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's Speech, taken as he spake it, being the first concerning the demand of particul r ayde.* 19 *Martii*, 1623.

"Mr. Speaker,—I do not doubt but the business is clearly understood by all this House, the rather because his Majesty hath explained the doubtful parte of it by his second thoughts, which are constantly the best, and surest in every man. For now he expresseth that he is resolved, both in conscience and honor, that the treaties may be broken and justified by a warre. That he will require our advice onely in the manner of publishing it, in making a manifest, which is an addition of honor and favour unto us. Soe that the King stands reddie to declare, only he expects from us an assistance proportionable to the greatnes of the worke; wherein we are to acknowledge his Majestie's right interpretation, and thankful acceptation of our last offer; for he confesseth that the grant of a small assistance is more than many millions of subsidies. And (by way of expression) it is soe indeed, for it is like a fountaine which continuallie

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runneth to the supplie of every occasion that may happen, where a particular summe (though never so greate) is but as a cesterne which may be emptied, and is without reparation in itself.

"Yet for all this the King in his wisdome knows that generals dwell too much in the ayre, we must descend to particulars, or ellse execution can take no footing, whereupon he hath made this demand, and because he will be without suspition of any ende, he hath quitted his own particular, and consigned it to the publiqs. I believe that every one in this House thinks the demand to be very greate, and so do I. But let us consider that his Majesty doth not desire it should be hastilie levied, for he hath limited no time; nay, he takes care that the subject should not be burthened by too speedie payment, soe that the busines be not hindered by too much delay. He only desires that it should be presentlie declared (to give a countenance lustie to the action), that his friends may be encouraged, and his enemies disheartened, which is a point of high importance; for (believe it, Mr. Speaker) matters of estate are as much carried by reputation as by substance.

"But let us fall to those particulars which we must necessarilie act upon; and they and those which I have heretofore moved, that is, the strengthening of the forts within the kingdome; the setting out a fleete; the furnishing of the stores, which is *the worst thing;* the strengthening of the Low Countries, whither we cannot send lesse than 10 or 12 thousand men; and 4000 for a fleete, ten of the King's shippes, and 20

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others will be noe more than sufficient. A greate part of the King's demands will be taken up in this charge, which we must presentlie goe through with, or we may be overruined before Michaelmas.

"For the rest I hold it fit we should make his Majesty such a round offer as may be worthy his declaration, and not so poore a one as may render us contemptible to our enemies, and unuseful to our friends.

"The manner of levying it I leave to the consideration of those who have been longer conversant in Parliaments than myself, having never been of any till the last. Yet thus much I do hope, that we may so limit it in time, and so qualifie it in payment, that it shall be no greater burthen to the subject than if it were not granted till our next session after Michaelmas, or the other in the Spring, and so save it by putting it into the hands of the Committee of both Houses, that it shall be still in our oune power to dispose of; for all this the King hath already promised us. But, Mr. Speaker, it is a point of extraordinary consequence that it be presentlie declared.

"I beseech every man in this House to consider that what we give to this action we give to our religion, to our lives, to our fortunes:—if the preservation of all these be any thing to us, it is unseasonable, nay, it is unprofitable to be sparing of it, when the whole is in danger.

"And to conclude, I will second a motion made by a worthy member of this House upon Wensday,

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That what we do we may dispatch before our recess, and not suffer a busines of this importance to growe cold, for coldness is a degree of deadness, soe that if we be not very carefull, we may leave all our hopes dead and buried in this place."

The King accepted with thankfulness the supplies voted by the Parliament, of three subsidies and three fifteens, and on the 29th of May he adjourned the Parliament. In the summer several regiments were raised for the service of the United Provinces, under the commands of the Earls of Oxford, Essex, Southampton, and Lord Willoughby; and Count Mansfield also arrived in England, and commissions were given out for raising 12,000 foot, and two troops of horse, to be employed under his command for the recovery of the Palatinate. By bad management, and its consequent misfortunes, this army became useless; for, notwithstanding the treaty of marriage then subsisting between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. and sister of the reigning sovereign Louis XIII., the French refused to allow Mansfield's army to land at Calais, and one-third of the soldiers were carried off by disease. They then proceeded to Zealand, where the States, having no notice of

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their intention, refused their landing; so that this expedition came to nothing.

The next important proceeding of this Parliament was the debate upon the petition of both Houses against Popish recusants; in answer to which the King declared, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that his works and his professions proved the sincerity of his religious faith; that he was, and ever had been, an enemy to persecution for religious matters, feeling the full weight of the argument, "sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiæ;" that even at a certain period (alluding to the relaxation of the laws against Papists during the negotiation with Spain) he was animated by the same sentiments, though as a stroke of policy he might have seemed to relent, like a good horseman "who sometimes uses the reins, and not always the spurs;" that he had been sorely maligned by evil-disposed persons, but that God knew his heart, and how it bled when he heard of the increase of Popery. Then in perfect contradiction to his vaunted humanity, and declared enmity to religious persecutions, he informed the Lords and Commons, that he not only granted the substance of the united petition against Recusants and Jesuits, and would issue proclamations to that effect, but he would

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command all the judges, as they went the circuit, to put the laws in force, as they were wont to do before the Spanish treaties; and that he would consult with his council to ascertain how such Papists as had taken refuge in the houses of foreign ambassadors could be seized, for that though such houses were sacred, he thought the Lord Mayor and Mr. Recorder might seize their persons as they came out and make examples of them; that with regard to their children, he had taken care that they should not be brought up as though they were at Rome or Madrid. The Archbishop concluded by expressing the King's deep regret that he had not himself been the mover of this advice, which, had they not forestalled him in, it was his intention to have broached to them. "The Parliamentary History" makes no mention of the speeches made during the debate; it merely sets forth the petition resulting from the deliberations of both Houses, and the King's answer thereto, of which the foregoing is but an abstract. Much of the remaining portion of the session was occupied with the proceedings on the impeachment of the Lord High Treasurer, Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, who, among other high offices, held the seal of the Court of Wards as Master, though it appears

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that during all the time of his treasurership his colleague, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, the Surveyor or second judge, presided over that court. His trial commenced on the 8th of April, and the proceedings were continued daily, with scarcely any intermission, until the middle of May, when he was found guilty of bribery and corrupt practices in all the high offices he held, was rendered incapable of serving the King, was deprived of the staff and seal of the Court of Wards, sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and to be fined 50,000*l.* This unfortunate, and probably guilty man, appears to have answered all the charges brought against him with much openness and candour; but it is quite evident he was opposed by an influence behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. Rapin lays the ruin of the Treasurer at the door of the Prince and Buckingham, whose exorbitant demands for money when in Spain he had been obliged to refuse. There is little doubt that these illustrious individuals exerted their influence with the Lords in order to ensure his conviction as they had his impeachment, and certainly James saw the folly of their proceeding when he told Buckingham "that he was a fool, and was making a rod for his own breech," and Prince Charles "that he would live to have his

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belly full of parliamentary impeachments."—See "History of Rebellion," vol. i. fol. edit. 1702, p. 20. Whatever may have been the actual amount of the Treasurer's guilt, it must be confessed he had a hard trial, and that its extreme length must have subjected him, as he affirmed, to excessive bodily and mental sufferings, having to sustain the entire weight of the proceedings, unaided by counsel, opposed by the whole power of the House, assisted by the Attorney-General and all the other law-officers of the crown. One argument may be advanced, not in justification, but as a slight palliation of the Treasurer's conduct: he had been compelled to resort to such corrupt practices, in order to supply the wants of the King and those favourites whose power over officials was greater than his, that it must excite but little surprise that in the end, seeing the fate of most men in office, he considered himself entitled to a share of the plunder. It would be curious to know the opinion of his colleague, Rudyerd, upon the charges brought against him; but though one of the most important was founded upon his supposed malpractices in the Court of Wards, —all the officers of which are stated to have been examined—it does not appear that our author, Rudyerd, expressed any opinion upon the merits

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of the case. Another extraordinary affair which was handled by Parliament immediately after that of the Lord Treasurer, was the charge brought against the Bishop of Norwich; among the articles of which, independently of extortion and corruption, were several to the effect "that he inhibited or disheartened preachers on the Sabbath in the forenoon; that images were set up in the churches, and one of the Holy Ghost fluttering over the font; that a marble tomb had been pulled down, and images set up in its room, and that he had blessed them that did it; that he had punished those who did not pray to the East; and that he had also punished a minister for catechising his family and singing psalms. All these charges, proceeding, no doubt, from the then rapidly increasing feeling of Puritanism so distasteful to James, and subsequently so fatal to his son, were answered by the Bishop in a straightforward and orthodox manner, which must have had its effect upon the Lords, who immediately entered an order upon their journals "referring the complaint of the Commons to the High Commission, who were to report to the House, and then the Lords would judge of it;" but nothing more was ever heard of the matter, which in no way impeded the promotion of the

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Bishop, Dr. Samuel Harsnet, who in the subsequent reign, 1628, was appointed Archbishop of York. The rest of the session was passed in framing petitions upon privileges, and grievances; which latter enumerated twelve, and related to, 1. The restrictions upon free fishing, by reason of the right of confiscation of ships, &c., if engaged in that trade without the patentee's permission, granted by the king's patent to settlers in New England; 2. The gold-wire-drawing patent, which had been granted to one Mathias Fowle, to the exclusion and ruin of the regular trade; 3. Concealments and defective titles, the letters patent whereof appointing Sir John Townsend, Knight, overseer of defective titles, worked. the ruin of governors of charities, &c.; 4. Briefs, or licenses whereby persons who pretended to have met with losses by fire, &c. were authorised to gather money from the people, against the statute, &c.; 5. Apothecaries, to whom letters patent had been granted separating them from the Grocer's Company, and thereby giving them the monopoly in the purchase and sale of drugs and distilled waters, to the ruin of the said grocers; 6. Lighthouses, and the exactions of the patentees upon the shipping, an oppression which did not exist when the same were under the control of the

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Trinity House; 7. The exactions of Sir Simond Harvey, who, under pretence of purveying for the King's household, took oxen and all manner of provisions in various counties without payment for the same, to the great detriment of the subject; 8. That gaols may be given over to the custody of the sheriffs of counties, and not further granted to private individuals; 9. Against the grant of 3*d.* per chald. upon sea-coal to certain persons, under letters patent as surveyors of ships; 10. Against Popish books, 150 of which had been printed within the last two or three years, since the Jesuits and priests were banished, in order to advance the power and authority of Rome, and that the King would order their suppression, and put the laws against offenders into execution; 11. Buildings, the restrictions thereon, as well as repairs in the City of London, and five miles from any of the gates, without the license of certain of the King's Commissioners, and the danger of the Star-chamber; 12. The Court of Wards, the grievance of which was comprised in the charge against the Earl of Middlesex. The Editor will not apologise to the reader for the insertion of the preceding short abstract and abridgement of the petitions in question, because these and other acts of grinding oppression upon

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the people, all of which were classed under the title of grievances, were the constant themes of brilliant and animated discussion in the Parliaments of the subsequent reign, in which our author, Rudyerd, took so prominent a part, proving, by the moderation he so zealously advocated, his strong personal affection towards the Monarch, which was only exceeded by his superior love for his country and the liberty of the subject.

Shortly after these events, the Parliament was prorogued to the 2d of November next ensuing, at which time it was again prorogued by commission to the 16th of February following; from thence to the 15th of March; and lastly to the 20th of April, 1625; before which last date, viz. on the 27th of March in the same year, the King died, by which event the Parliament was finally dissolved. It is rather a singular fact connected with the death of this monarch, that in his last speech to both Houses, when alluding to the subsidies granted for the benefit of his grandchildren, the children of the Palsgrave and the Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, and their desperate state, he solemnly asseverated, calling no less than five times in the space of so many minutes upon the name of God, "that it should be applied to their assistance,

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and that he hoped he might die if, before God, he did not wish the restoration of the Palatinate, that the subsidies should be wholly applied to that end, and that, as God should judge his soul, he never had any other meaning." It is by no means apparent that the subsidies were all so applied, history has not rescued the King's honour from the aspersion which these unnecessary vows, so solemnly asseverated, have cast upon his good faith by reason of their non-fulfilment; his speedy death, however, may be offered as some palliation of those acts of omission, which he might have perfected had it pleased the King of kings to have spared his life.

James had been ill for a short time of a tertian fever; and, finding himself grow weak, he sent for the Prince, and heartily recommended to him the care of the Church of England; he commanded him to love his wife (Henrietta Maria of France, whom he had married by proxy), butnot her religion; and exhorted him to take especial care of his grandchildren, the children of the Princess Elizabeth and her husband the Count Palatine, King of Bohemia; and to try every effort to obtain a restitution of the Palatinate.

Amongst the many epitaphs written to record

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his merits, the most esteemed at the time was that which was written by "a Reverend Prelate of our Church, then of Christ Church, Oxon," the last two stanzas of which are as follow:—

"Then let no Shemei's curses wound
His honour or prophane his ground;
Let no black mouth, no rank-breath'd cur,
Peaceful James his ashes stir.
Kings are as gods; O! do not then
Rake in their graves to prove them men.

For his daies toyl and his nights watches;
For the craz'd sleep he stole by snatches;
For the two fair kingdoms join'd in one;
For all he did, or meant t' have done;
Do this for him; write on his dust,
King James the peacefull and the just."

But the better epitaph to the "King and his memory" would have been, *Requiescant in pace.*

In the first Parliament of King Charles I., which assembled 18th of June, 1625, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was again returned for the borough of Wilton.

In his opening speech, Charles informed the Parliament that he was not so much accustomed to speaking as his father, and therefore should revive the custom of his predecessors in having

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the Lord Keeper to speak for him in most things. The first thing done by the Commons was the appointment of a solemn fast among themselves: several preceding Parliaments had set them the example; but the reason urged on this occasion was the general plague which surrounded them. In the first volume of Hansard's "Parliamentary History," p. 811, it is stated, that when the Commons by their own authority appointed a fast in the year 1581, Queen Elizabeth highly resented it as an intrusion upon her authority ecclesiastical; but the same reasons could not apply to the special case in question, though subsequently Charles treated such solemnities with unconcealed contempt, arising from his disgust at the spirit of puritanism then daily increasing: which was, to say the least, impolitic in a ruler, as putting himself in sudden opposition to the prejudices, however absurd, of the vast majority of his people. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, though strongly imbued with feelings of the deepest devotion and religious awe, saw the bent of Parliament in this respect, as well as in their overpressing the question of grievances, and took the earliest opportunity to intercede with the House for a good harmony between the King and Parliament; and for this purpose he moved the House on the 22d of June. The

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Editor regrets not having discovered the MS. speech (which he believes to be extant), particularly as Rudyerd must in all probability have entered into details of an interesting character, tending to manifest his affection for the King, in whose family he had been so well received, as well as his ardent desire that peace and goodwill might permanently be established between him and his people.

The short abstract of his speech in Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," p. 5, is as follows:— "Sir Benjamin Rudyerd spoke to the effect, 'That the late distastes between the late King and Parliament were the chief cause of all the miseries of the kingdom. The first turn of which towards a reconciliation was given by the now King, then Prince; by which accrued more benefit to the subject than in any Parliament these many hundred years. What may we then expect from him, being king, and having power in his own hands? His good natural disposition, his freedom from vice, his travels abroad, his being bred in Parliament, promised greatly. Therefore, he moved to take such course now to sweeten all things between the King and people, that they may never afterwards disagree.' Which motion was seconded by Sir Edward Coke, who further moved against any

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committees for grievances, &c. in consideration of the King's recent accession to the throne." The speeches of Rudyerd and the celebrated Coke, or rather short abstracts only, are recorded in the "Parliamentary History" upon this debate, with which the House appeared satisfied, at least for the moment. On the 5th of July the Commons granted two subsidies, but the Lords refused the tonnage for more than one year, though, according to precedent, it had been granted for the King's life. The plague was now raging in London, and the Houses demanded a recess, which took place until August 1st, when both Houses met at Oxford. The King opened the Parliament in person, but left it to Lord Conway and Sir John Cooke to declare the state of his affairs, which related principally to his desire to obtain the restitution of the Palatinate — a fruitful source of supply for a long series of years, both to King James and himself, without effecting the least benefit for the amiable Princess Elizabeth, so truly beloved by the people for her consistent and unflinching attachment to the Protestant faith. It was on the 9th of August that the King gave his answer to both Houses, assembled in the great hall of Christ-Church College, to the petition of both Houses for execution of the laws against popery,

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and for advancing true religion; which was read by the Attorney-General together with the petition, and answered *seriatim*, article by article, to the entire satisfaction of the House; the Duke of Buckingham averring that His Majesty's reasons for approving the said petition were "conscience and duty to his father, who, in his last speech, recommended unto him the person, but not the religion, of his Queen." The Duke then gave an account of the preparations for the fleet and for the conduct of the war against Spain to aid the recovery of the Palatinate, and the Lord Treasurer went into detail as to the necessary supplies, without naming any particular sum, which the state of the kingdom would require, and 40,000*l.* for the King; and, according to the "Journal of the Commons," he concluded with these words: "That since their House had first taken care of religion, and had received so gracious an answer to it, therefore they ought now speedily to think of a supply, not of His Majesty's wants, but of those for the defence of the kingdom." But as the House did not move with the quickness of His Majesty's desires, and hearing that it was their intention to enter into the consideration of other matters, the next day he sent the Chancellor of the Duchy to urge them to vote the supplies, and if

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they did not he should dissolve the Parliament, and shift for his present occasions as well as he could. If, on the other hand, they complied, he gave his royal word to call them together in the winter whenever they should choose, and that they should hold together until they had perfected all matters relative to the King and Commonwealth which were before them; and, in conclusion, he reminded them that this was the first request he had ever made unto them. The Commons, however, proceeded to debate upon the message, and very cunningly, though not generously, concluded, that if the King's necessities were so great as to induce him thus to press for so small a sum as 40,000*l.* for his own use, they being willing in due season to assist him in all that the policy of the country demanded, it was a fitting opportunity to engage him to redress the grievances of the state. Sir Edward Coke said that a demand had been made for 40,000*l.* after the House had already voted two subsidies, and rather than agree to it he would give 1000*l.* out of his own estate. Whereupon a committee was appointed for the next morning to consider the answer to be returned to His Majesty. But the King finding they would grant no subsidy without redress of grievances dissolved the Parliament

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the same day, the 12th of August. Charles's attempt to recover the Palatinate was carried on without parliamentary aid, and the supplies which were wanting he endeavoured to obtain by way of loan upon privy seals directed to those who were best able to lend, which bred matter of grievance and complaint in the ensuing Parliament; added to which, his marriage with Henrietta Maria, which had taken place on the 22d of the preceding June, induced the Commons to suspect that the Catholic faith was highly favoured, notwithstanding the King's oath to the contrary. The fleet and army which had been sent to Spain, under the command of Cecil Viscount Wimbleton and the Earl of Essex, returned in the following November, without having gained any honour to themselves or advantage to the country; and, with the the exception of the plague which was then raging in London, and His Majesty's coronation which took place on Candlemas-day, 1625, (the ceremony of crowning being performed by Bishop Laud in consequence of the Bishop of Lincoln's disgrace, the latter being Dean of Westminster), there was nothing more of importance in the history of that year.

At the coronation, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, and William

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Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, were appointed to perform the rites and ceremonies of creation of Knights of the Bath; and a proclamation was likewise issued for all that had 40*l.* per annum to come in and receive the order of knighthood, which was made another matter of grievance in the ensuing Parliament, which assembled on the 6th of February, and was opened by a speech from the Lord Keeper Coventry. The Commons chose Sir Heneage Finch, Serjeant-at-law and Recorder of London, their Speaker. In this Parliament, which, immediately after thanks to the King for his answer to their petition for religion, began its angry discussions upon grievances, evil counsellors, and religion, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was again returned for the borough of Wilton; and on the 10th February he moved the House concerning scandalous ministers. The "Parliamentary History" gives an abstract only of the speech made by him on this occasion, as follows: — "Sir Benjamin Rudyerd got up, and moved the House on account of religion, 'whereof,' he said, 'the King had given ample testimonies of his great care and concern, both by His Majesty's late proclamations, and the life given to the execution of the laws against them, by commissions and letters: but he

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thought there ought to be some care taken against scandalous ministers as well as scandalous livings:' he said, 'That he knew two ministers in Lancashire who were found to be unlicensed ale-house keepers.'" It adds, "that a committee was ordered to consider thereof." It is to be regretted that a more ample report of this speech has not been traced; the more so, as he must have entered into particulars relative to the state of the poorer clergy in England, which could not fail to be both valuable and highly interesting as memorials of their then neglected condition, their sufferings, and, under such circumstances, in many instances their debasement. This speech, however, notwithstanding its abridgement in the "Parliamentary History," p. 45, was noticed by several contemporaneous writers. Among others, Mr. Mead alludes to it in one of his letters, dated from Christ College, February 25, 1625, and addressed to Sir Martin Stuteville, which has been published in Sir Henry Ellis's "Letters," vol. iii. p. 222, let. 325: he writes, "That Sir Benjamin Rudyer spake next, for the relief of the poor and meanly-provided clergie under impropriators, urging two examples of divines who were faine to keep ale-houses for mere want of means." He adds, "and there

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was hope of some good success, if the lawyers stomach it not too much, who desire that every minister convicted before a justice by twelve men to have been once drunk, should lose his living; that for adultery, they should suffer death; and for tempting of a woman be deprived." With reference to Mr. Mead's satire upon the lawyers, the singular fact of the over-rigid righteousness of that learned body at the period in question has never been accounted for, nor can it be clearly understood without adopting the suggestion that they had previously retired from practice. The conduct of Charles in excluding that great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, from the House during the session by a paltry manœuvre, was highly reprehensible, and betrayed an unpardonable weakness. The knowledge Sir Edward Coke possessed of the constitutional law of the realm was a guarantee against his committing himself; and in times of such irritation between the King and Parliament, the part such a man might have taken in the proceedings of the House would have been a sure guide as to its privileges, beyond which, had any member ventured, the King would have had some show of right in inflicting punishment upon him: but no sooner had he eclipsed this constellation of legal acu-

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men, than, as is ever the case, the light of the petty stars shone forth with unwonted lustre; and, instead of one dangerous, because a truth-speaking oracle, he raised, in the persons of less judicious men, such as his son, Dr. Turner, and others, a host of enemies, the boldness of whose language must have caused him greater pain than all the opposition of that great lawyer, which proceeded from the sound constitutional views which he took of the ill-advised measures of the monarch. No stronger proof of this feeling need be adduced than the following passages from the King's speech, and that of the Lord Keeper Coventry by command of the King, to both Houses, on the 23d March. The former, in one part of his address, says, "And you, gentlemen of the House of Commons, I am sorry that I may not justly give the same thanks to you; but that I must tell you that I am come here to shew you your errors, and, as I may call it, unparliamentary proceedings in this Parliament. But I do not despair, because you shall see your faults so clearly by the Lord Keeper, that you may so amend your proceeding," &c. The Lord Keeper said, "Whereas a seditious speech was uttered amongst you by Mr. Coke (Sir Edward's son), the House did not, as they ought to do, censure and correct

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him." He then proceeded to state, that when the King sent by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to require justice for this insult, he found nothing but protractings and delays, all of which His Majesty holds to be neither conformable to the wisdom nor the duty of the House. And in the case of Dr. Turner, the dictatorial language of the Lord Keeper was of such a nature as to excite no surprise that the House, even in its then infant state of liberty and independence, temperately and nobly remonstrated against it. The Keeper said, "And whereas Dr. Turner, in a strange, unparliamentary way, took upon him to advise the House to inquire upon sundry articles against the Duke of Buckingham, as he pretended, though in truth it was merely to wound the honour and government of the King and of his renowned father; the former of whom, by a message, and then by word of mouth, declared, 'that the inquiry was an example he could not suffer, though it were against his meanest servant, much less against one so near to him;' and that His Majesty did much wonder at the foolish insolency of any man that can think he would, on any account, offer such a sacrifice, so unworthy of a king or a good master. Yet for all this" (saith the Keeper),

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"you have been so far from correcting the insolency of Turner, that your committees have ever since walked in Turner's steps." He then asked how they presumed to meddle with foreign affairs, or to examine public officers. In another part he says, "That the House had suffered the greatest council of state to be censured and traduced by men whose years and education cannot attain to that depth. Then, in allusion to the supply of three subsidies and three-fifteenths, which the House had agreed to tender to the King, he declared their putting off the bill until they had preferred their grievances was both dishonourable and distrustful; that the supply, if in hand, was insufficient; but the delay would turn to their discomfiture, disgust his allies, who would leave the field, and they would be at the mercy of a provoked and powerful enemy. Upon the presentation of the remonstrance of the Commons to the King's and the Keeper's speeches, which occurred on the 5th April, the King told the select committee "that he would not then answer it, but desired the Commons to adjourn until the 13th as the Lords had done. On the question of adjournment being put twice in the House, it was carried in the affirmative on a division of 150 against 120. Of the answer or remon-

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strance of the Commons, it is impossible to speak in too high terms. It was temperate, but firm; respectful, without being fulsome; convincing in its arguments derived from law and precedents, without seeking outward triumph; in fine, it bore the stamp of truth in all its parts, save, perhaps, that portion which threw a veil of protection over young Coke and Turner, by denying the interpretation put upon their words, and attributing their not taking further notice of such conduct to the interruptions which befell the House in the messages from the Crown. And the affectionate and dutiful manner in which it was worded ought to have satisfied the King that the hearts of his people were with him, and that a whole nation was more worthy of salvation than the few heartless parasites by whom he was surrounded. On the 25th April, the Commons went upon the supply, according to an order made for that purpose. It was first moved for by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who also desired the House to take into their consideration the fall of subsidies. That other rents since the first of Elizabeth had been generally improved; but the King's had wasted, except what was paid by the nobility and clergy. That one great cause of this fall was the multiplicity of commissioners,

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who are the assessors of themselves, with certificates, &c. He moved, that a search might be made into former schedules of subsidies; and that the four shillings a-pound rate on lands, and the number of subsidies, may be increased by this grant. Lastly, that some forts might be erected, and some ships maintained, for the defence of the kingdom, &c., at the country's charge." This motion was seconded by Sir George Moore; and, eventually, a fourth subsidy was agreed to by the House. When the account of the whole grant was communicated to the King, he said, "That he accepted it in very good part, but desired such speed might be used in it that it might do him good."

During the whole of their sitting, little or nothing was effected beyond the charges against the Earl of Bristol, the late King's ambassador at the court of Spain, who was persecuted by Buckingham; and the impeachment of the favourite himself by the Commons: which subjects almost exclusively engaged the attention of both houses—grievances and religion only excepted. The minor points, such as the commitment to the Tower of Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, the former for words which the Duke of Buckingham had declared he used (in conducting the charges against him) relative to the

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death of King James, which thirty-six peers protested he had never uttered; and the latter, for the abusive epithets which he applied to the Duke, and which the King took to himself. However, they were soon released; and the Commons voted that they had not in any way exceeded their duties, or the instructions of the committee. The King, disappointed in all his expectations, having obtained a supply of 50,000*l.* only, when he had communicated to the House that his expenses, and the carrying on of the war for the recovery of the Palatinate, would exceed 700,000*l.* per annum—disgusted with the spirit of faction which he believed guided their deliberations, determined upon dissolving the Parliament. This coming to the ears of the Commons, they drew up a remonstrance against the Duke, and against the King's right to tonnage and poundage, and ordered every man to take a copy of it. And the Lords presented a petition to the King by the hands of William Earl of Pembroke, the Earls of Holland and Carlisle, &c. humbly praying him not to dissolve the Parliament during the time of such great and apparent dangers both at home and abroad. The King, however, declared that he would hear no motion upon the subject, and the Parliament was accordingly

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dissolved on the 25th of June, in the second year of his reign.

In the meantime the King of Denmark had declared in favour of the Count Palatine against the Emperor, and took several important towns; but on the 27th of August his army was completely routed by the Austrian general, Tilly, and his train of artillery and most of his great commanders slain or taken prisoners. Charles now sought how he could assist the Palsgrave with men and money; and he decided upon a commission for a loan as the most speedy, easy, and convenient method for accomplishing his desires. By these unconstitutional means he amassed considerable sums, which enabled him to fit out a powerful army and navy, which were placed under the command of the Duke of Buckingham; but several eminent persons, members of the late Parliament, refused the loan, and were committed to the different prisons of the country: amongst these were Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, Sir George Ratcliffe, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Thomas Grantham, Sir John Heveningham, Sir John Elliot, Sir Nathaniel Barnadiston, &c. &c. Yet there were not wanting men who, for their own preferment, prostituted their consciences and talents at the shrine

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of kingly oppression. And one more notorious than the rest, Sibthorpe, vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire, wrote a sermon, in which he endeavoured to sustain, by the most impudent and fallacious arguments, the unconstitutional power which the King had assumed, and upon which Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, was disgraced, through the interference of Buckingham, because he refused to license it for the press. The bad success of foreign affairs, and the still required supplies, induced Charles again to summon a Parliament, actuated as he was by the advice given by Sir Robert Cotton to the council; but, before it assembled, he had the prudence to order all those knights and gentlemen who were imprisoned for refusing the loan to be released; and he, moreover, summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Bristol to the council in order that all discontents might be removed.

On the meeting of this the third Parliament of Charles I. March 17th, 1627, the Commons chose Sir John Finch, Speaker; and on the 20th of March they settled their grand committees for religion, grievances, and courts of justice, and also drew up a petition for a solemn fast, to which the Lords consented. Shortly after they entered upon the public grievances, such

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as billeting the soldiers, loans by benevolence and privy seals, imprisonment of those who refused to lend, and denial of release upon *Habeas Corpus*. These grievances were warmly debated, and the House inclined not to supply his Majesty till they were redressed; to which purpose many speeches were made by Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who spoke as a moderator between King and people thus:—

"Mr. Speaker,—It is the goodness of God, and the favour of the King, that hath brought us again to this place, and if we be as thankful to both as our duty to both requires, our meeting certainly will be crown'd with a blessing. This is the crisis of Parliaments. We shall know by this if Parliaments live or die: the King and the kingdom will be valued or disvalued both by enemies or friends, by the success of this Parliament. The counsels of this House will have operations on all, 'tis fit we be wise. His Majesty begins to us with affection, proclaiming that he will rely on his people's love, which if we do not answer in our actions, we are worse than unworthy of his. The cause why we are called hither is to save ourselves; and self-preservation is a thing so natural, as sure no man needs to be persuaded to it. We are not now upon the *bene esse* of the kingdom, we are upon the very *esse* of it; whether we shall be a kingdom or no. When we have made it sure that England is ours, then may we have time

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to prune and to dress it. Is it a small matter, think you, that we have actually invaded the territories of two of the most powerful kings of Christendom, provoking them only, without weakening them at all? Nay, that they are both united and become better friends than ever they meant to have been? Seems it a small thing unto you, that we have beaten ourselves more than our enemies could have done? And shall we still continue to do so by our divisions, by our distractions? Men and brethren, what shall we do? Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no remedy here? Then is it nowhere to be found but in ruin? If we persevere, the King to draw one way, the Parliament another, the Commonwealth must sink in the midst: but I hope better things of so grave, so wise an assembly. I am no man's advocate; for I ever held it a thing beneath the dignity, against the integrity, of this House, to respect any particular, but as he concerns the general; neither am I so wise or so presumptuous, as to condemn whatsoever hath been determined by a major part in this place. Yet, Sir, give me leave to say this, that one Parliament may instruct another, as one day telleth another. Out of which consideration I humbly beseech this House to be curiously wary and careful to avoid all manner of contestation, personal or real. The hearts of kings are great as are their fortunes; then are they fitted to yield when they are yielded unto. It is comely and mannerly that princes, in all fair appearance, should have the better of their subjects. Let us give the King a way to come off like himself, for I do

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verily believe that he doth, with longing, expect the occasion. Notwithstanding, it is not only lawful for us, but it is our duty, both to advertise and advise the King concerning the weighty affairs of the kingdom, else are we so far from being a great council, that we are no council at all. But the way to shew that we are the wise counsellors that we should be, is to take a right course to attain the end of our counsels, which, in my opinion, may by this means be compassed: by trusting the King, thereby to breed a trust in him towards us; for, without mutual confidence, a good success is not to be expected: by giving a large and ample supply, proportionable to the greatness and importance of the work in hand; for counsel without money is but a speculation: by prostrating our grievances and advices modestly and humbly at his Majesty's feet; for, from thence are they likeliest to find a way to his heart: by making it appear, that whatsoever we shall omit or abate, proceeds merely out of a dutiful and awful respect to the King only; for the body of a Parliament acknowledgeth but one head; and, to say all at once, let our labours and endeavours be to get the King on our side, for then we shall obtain whatsoever we can reasonably expect or desire. And this may be no hard matter to effect, considering the nearness of relation between the King and his subjects, is such, that neither can have existence without the other. As concerning the bill brought in by that honourable and reverend person (Sir Edward Coke), it is no doubt necessary for the preservation of the liberty of the subject; for this I speak reso-

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lutely, he that is not safe in his person and his goods dwells not at home."

This speech, taken from the "Ephemeris Parliamentaria," and the MSS. in the Harleian Collection, was in itself sufficient to place Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in the highest rank of parliamentary debaters of that period. And, notwithstanding its pacific tone, and the admirable arguments it contains in favour of conciliatory measures, it breathes a spirit of independence which contrasts strongly with the abject servility of the secretaries and other men in the King's service, who, to speak truly, were placed in a far from enviable position; no learning, no eloquence, no sophistry being able to controvert the well-founded and just complaints of the people, now so vehemently expressed by their representatives in Parliament. This was a period of extreme delicacy for all public men, the difficulties of which were increased tenfold in the case of men in office, the tenure of whose places depended entirely upon their advocacy, to the best of their abilities, of any and every measure propounded by the Crown; but the affectionately loyal, and at the same time constitutional, views of our author, Rudyerd, as exemplified in the preceding speech, must rescue him as well from the charge of cringing to

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authority as that of factious opposition to the King's demands. In this debate Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the Earl of Strafford, followed Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, in a very able speech, in which he set forth several grievances, and concluded by moving for, first, — Freedom of the persons of members from imprisonment, or employment abroad without their own consent (a method adopted by Charles and his predecessor to rid them of the obnoxious members); second, For their goods, that no levies may be made but by Parliament, and no billeting of soldiers. Upon which Sir Edward Coke made a short but animated reply, stating "that he was absolutely for giving supply to his Majesty, but with caution; that the disease of the state was not incurable; that he could not fly at all grievances, but only at loans. Who," he observed energetically, — "who will give subsidies if after the Parliament the King may impose what he will? He would not have loans classed with grievances, but take it singly." He then quoted from 26 Ed. III. which, he said, "should be written in letters of gold, 'Loans against the will of the subject are against reason, and the franchises of the land, and they desire restitution.' Franchise," he said, "is a French word; and in Latin it is *libertas*."— "Parlia-

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mentary History," vol. i. p. 117. The House, however, came to no resolution, notwithstanding the imploring appeal of the Secretary of State, Sir John Cooke, that they would supply the King's wants without naming grievances, which would amaze his enemies more than ten subsidies. On the 24th the Secretary again urged the House to take the question of supply and grievances into consideration, and though only for respect to the Monarch, to take the supply first, or as he expressed it, the "precedency of honour, if not of time," which was answered in a very long and learned address upon grievances, by a Mr. Creskeld, a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, who concluded by moving "an humble petition to his Majesty, to be prostrated at his feet (which, as was well said by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, is the best passage to his heart), that he will vouchsafe to us our ancient liberties and birthright, with a thorough reformation of our just grievances." Several days passed in discussions upon grievances, when, on the 4th of April, the King sent a message to hasten the supply, which was delivered by the Secretary of State, Cooke, who said, —

"His Majesty has again commanded me to put you in mind how the eyes and interest of the Christian world are cast upon the good or ill success of this

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assembly. He also graciously taketh notice of that which is in agitation amongst us, touching the freedom of our persons and property of our goods; and that this particular care (which he no way mistaketh) may not retard our resolution for the general good, he willeth us cheerfully to proceed in both and to express our readiness to supply his great occasions, upon assurance that we shall enjoy all our rights and liberties, with as much freedom and security in his time as in any age heretofore under the best of our Kings."

It was a wise stroke of policy on the part of Charles to premise his demand for hastening the supply with a promise of redress of grievances, knowing as he did fully that the Commons would not grant the former without making a condition that the latter should be carried into effect, the consenting to which would have been exceedingly humiliating to the King. Upon this occasion Sir Benjamin Rudyerd rose immediately after the Secretary of State, and spoke as follows:—

"The dangers and necessities of our present state, Mr. Speaker, are so obvious to every man's eye and understanding, and therefore so well known, that to make a large and particular rehearsal of them would rather astonish our judgments than refresh our memory; wherefore, in short and in gross, I will only reflect on the desperate condition of the King's uncle, the King of Denmark, engaged from hence (even to the hazard

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of his own kingdom) in the quarrel of that royal and gallant lady, his Majesty's sister, for the recovery of her and her children's patrimony, with the preservation and re-establishment of our religion in those countries; so that the King is bound in nature, in policy and religion, to relieve and assist both the persons and the cause to the utmost of his power. Believe it, the hinge of most of the businesses moved in Christendom turns on the affairs of Germany; for if that great body were once united under one head, it would crush all the rest with the weight of it. Next, let us look a little over into France; there shall we find the poor men of our religion exposed to the fury of an enraged king, with a juster pretence against them than hath been at any time heretofore. Besides, which is worse, the kings of Spain and France are united against them and us, and made better friends than ever they meant to have been; so that not to succour and support the professors of our religion will not be infidelity and cruelty but improvidence and folly, for their ill is ours. If Rochelle should be lost, which is now in losing, and his Majesty not able to set out one ship to help it, if it should be lost, it will hazard the total extirpation of the religion; besides it would be an extraordinary advantage to the King of France for shipping, and as great a disadvantage to us in respect of his neighbourhood; and if the Sound should be lost too, how should we escape from being swallowed up by a Spanish invasion? This island would be more like a prison than a kingdom, for we should not then be able to walk abroad. These are dangers too many; yet

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have I willingly abridged them: for I had rather come to the remedy and so should we all, — this consists only in money plentifully and speedily brought in, wisely and judiciously laid out. I doubt not but we are all resolved to give, wherefore let us prepare ourselves to give plentifully, to satisfy the public occasions and to leave his Majesty out of necessity, for necessity is the worst counsellor, and I shall be very sorry that we of all others should be guilty of placing such ill counsel about the King. And now, to think of sparing when all lies at stake, were the most undoing kind of frugality. Let us give speedily, for delay is the greatest danger of all dangers, it will not only lose that which we give, but that also which we would give. And this I propound, not as the King's business, but our own, wherein every man in this House hath particular interest, if his fortune, his life, his religion be any thing unto him. Neither speak I this to divert the great business in hand, but to hasten it; for I love, Mr. Speaker, as well to tread upon English ground as any man here doth."

Mr. Pym followed Sir B. Rudyerd in a short speech, in which he said "that dispatch was better than discourse. A man in a journey is hindered by asking too many questions. 'A word spoken in season is like an apple of gold set in pictures of silver,' and actions are more precious than words. Let us hasten our resolutions to supply His Majesty." Whereupon, after

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some debate, it was resolved unanimously, "That five subsidies be given to His Majesty, and Mr. Secretary Cooke was appointed to acquaint the King with the resolution of the House."

The "Parliamentary History" names Rudyerd, Cooke, and Pym only as having taken any prominent part in this day's debate. The gracious answer of the King to the Commons, thanking them for the resolution of supply, was not without its alloy by reason of the Duke of Buckingham's perhaps well-intended, but certainly injudicious, observations, or rather set speech, to the King in the presence of the Secretary after the announcement of the resolution, spoken, no doubt, with the intention that it should find its way to the ears of the Commons. In this speech, after congratulating the King upon this manifestation of his subjects' love, he begs that he may give up the title of favourite, and that the King will confer it on his people: they to be his favourites, he the King's servant; and that he will account the Commons, though a body of many members, all of one heart. He then tells the King, the Commons have taken his heart and drawn from him a declaration of his love for Parliaments. He advises Charles to keep his word in the redress

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of grievances, as the Commons have kept theirs in the supply.

"Now, sir," he said, "to open my heart, and to ease my grief, please you to pardon me one word more. I must confess I have long lived in pain, sleep hath given me no rest, favours and fortune no content, such have been my secret sorrows to be thought the man of separation, that divided the King from his people, and them from him; but I hope it shall appear they were some mistaken minds, that would make me the evil spirit that walketh between a good master and loyal people, by ill offices: whereas, I shall endeavour to approve myself a good spirit, breathing nothing but the best services to them all. Therefore this day I account more blessed to me than my birth, to see myself able to serve them, to see you brought into love with Parliaments, to see a Parliament express such love to you: and God so love me and mine as I joy to see this day."

This speech, even if the genuine impulse of his mind, was not only injudicious but presumptuous, and was most severely censured in the House of Commons by Sir John Elliot, in an address as full of dignity as of correct appreciation of the relative duties of the King towards his people, without other interposition or interference than the knowledge his Majesty entertained of the fidelity and affection of his subjects. Though the Commons had resolved on the

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supply, no time was stated, and the King had sent several messages begging them to hasten it; but they were very ill received, for they were regarded more as an evidence of his desire to touch the supplies than to redress their grievances: besides, they had no security that the King would not prorogue or dissolve the Parliament the moment his wants were satisfied. The conference with the Lords upon "the liberty of the subject" occupied many days, during which his Majesty's necessities increasing, on the 28th of April he went down to the House and spoke by the Lord Keeper, desiring the Commons to rely on his royal word and promise for the preservation of their rights and the liberties of his subjects, and to lose no further time in granting him the supplies they had voted, as his business was urgent, &c. Mr. Secretary Cooke in a laboured speech, echoing the King's as delivered by the Lord Keeper, entreated the House to rely on their Prince's word, who "acknowledged the efficacy of Magna Charta and the other six statutes, and declared that hereafter they should never have cause to complain of any breach of the laws, but (alluding to their continued debates upon grievances, which the Commons wisely desired to see in a

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certain train of being redressed ere they parted with their money) that in the form of the debate such a length is required as the urgent nature of his business will not possibly endure." He then called upon the House to trust to the King's word, as confidently as they would to an acknowledged law, that he would do all they required in the redress of grievances; and he begged them, therefore, not to make their redress precedent to the supply of his urgent necessities. He concluded by declaring that "the wrath of a king is like the roaring of a lion, and all laws with his wrath are of no effect; but 'the King's favour is like the dew upon the grass:' thus all may prosper; and may God make him the instrument to unite all our hearts." Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who followed the Secretary of State, thus addressed the House:—

"We are now upon a businesse of great importance, and the manner of handling it may be as great as even the business itself. Liberty is a precious thing, for every man may set his own price upon it; and he that doth not value it deserves to be valued accordingly. For my own part, I am clear without scruple, that what we have resolved is according to law; and if any judge in England were of a contrary opinion, I am sure we should have heard of him ere now. Out of all question, the very scope and drift of

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Magna Charta was to reduce the regal to a legal power in matters of imprisonment, or else it had not been worth so much contending for.

" But there have been precedents brought to prove the practice and interpretation of the law. I confess I have heard many precedents of utility and respect, but none at all of truth or of law: certainly there is no court of justice in England that will discharge a prisoner committed by the King—*rege inconsulto, i. e.* without acquainting the King; yet this good manners was never made nor mentioned as a legal part of the delivery.

" It is objected that the King ought to have a trust left and reposed in him. God forbid but he should, and I hope it is impossible to take it from him; for it lies not in the art of man to devise such a law, as shall comprehend all particulars, all accidents, but that extraordinary causes may happen, which, when they come, if they be disposed of for the common good, there will be no law against them: yet must the law be general, for otherwise, admissions and exceptions will fret and eat out the law to nothing. God himself hath constituted a general law of nature to govern the ordinary course of things, but he hath made no laws for miracles; yet there is this observation of them, that they are rather *præter naturam* than *contra naturam*, and always *propter bonos fines*. So likewise the King's prerogatives are rather beside the law than against it; and when they are directed to right ends for the publick good, they are not only concurring laws, but even laws of singularity and excellency.

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"But to come nearer, let us consider where we are now, and what steps we have gone and gained: the King's learned council have acknowledged all the laws to be still in force, the judges have not allowed any judgment against these laws; the Lords also have confessed that the laws are in full strength; they have further retained our resolutions entire, and without prejudice.

"All this hitherto is for our advantage; but above all, His Majesty hath this day (himself being publickly present) declared by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, before both the Houses, that Magna Charta and the other six statutes are still in force; that he will maintain his subjects in the liberty of their persons and the property of their goods; and that he will govern according to the laws of the kingdom. This is a solemn and binding satisfaction, expressing his gracious readiness to comply with his people in all their reasonable and just desires. The King is a good man; and it is no diminution to a King to be called so, for whosoever is a good man shall be greater than a King that is not so. The King certainly is very tender of his present honour and of his fame hereafter: he will think it hard to have a worse mark set upon him and his government than upon any of his ancestors, by extraordinary restraints. His Majesty hath already intimated to us by a message, that he doth willingly give way to have the abuse of power reformed; by which I do verily believe he doth very well understand what a miserable power it is which hath produced so much weakness to himself and to the kingdom; and it is our happiness that he is so ready to redress it.

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"For my own part, I shall be very glad to see that good old decrepit law Magna Charta, which hath been kept so long, and lien bed-rid as it were; I shall be glad, I say, to see it walk abroad again with new vigour and lustre, attended by the other six statutes; for questionless it will be a great heartening to all the people. I doubt not, but by a free conference with the Lords, we shall happily fall upon a fair and fit accommodation concerning the liberty of our persons and property of our goods. I hope we shall have a bill to agree on the point, against imprisonment for loans on privy seals. But as for *intrinsical power and reason* of state, they are matters in the clouds, where I desire we may leave them, and not meddle with them at all, lest by way of admittance we may lose somewhat of that which is our own already. Yet this, by the way, I will say of reason of state, that in the latitude by which 'tis used, it hath eaten out almost, not only the laws, but all the religion of Christendom. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will only remember you of one precept, and that of the wisest man, 'Be not over wise, be not over just:' and he cited his reason, 'for why wilt thou be desolate?'

"If justice and wisdom may be stretched to desolation, let us thereby learn that moderation is the virtue of virtues and wisdom of wisdoms. Let it be our masterpiece so to carry our business that we may keep Parliaments on foot. For as long as they be frequent, there will be no irregular power, which, though it cannot be broken at once, yet in a short time will be made weaker and moulder away. There

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can be no total and final loss of liberty but by loss of Parliaments; for as long as they last, what we cannot get at one time, we shall have at another.

"Let no man think that what I have said is the language of a private end, my aim is only for the good success of the whole; for, I thank God, my mind stands above any fortune that is to be gotten by base or unworthy means. No man is bound to be rich or great; no, nor to be wise: but every man is bound to be honest. Out of my heart have I spoken."

Upon this debate, it was ordered that a committee of lawyers do draw up a bill containing the substance of Magna Charta and the other statutes that do concern the liberty of the subject, which business took up two whole days.

Various messages were sent by the King to hasten the supply; but the House still proceeded with grievances, particularly that which related to the liberty of the subject which the King had promised to redress, by giving his assent to any bill they might propose upon the question. Sir Edward Coke wished the bill to proceed direct from the King. "We will and grant for us and our successors," &c. But while on this subject, other messages came from the King which contained an assurance that "he would, if they hastened to give him the supplies,

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have another session of Parliament at Michaelmas for perfecting such things as cannot now be done." The House, however, proceeded on the petition of right, the particulars of which are too well known to require further comment; and it was not until the King's favourable answer thereto, on the 12th of June, that the bill for granting five subsidies passed the Commons; previously to which the Duke of Buckingham had been violently attacked in the House as the cause of all the disasters to the King and kingdom, which attack was renewed on the 16th of June in a conference with the House of Lords, which was conducted by Sir Edward Coke, concerning the Commission of Excise, the Duke being one of the persons to whom the commission was directed. During the debate, Sir John Elliot, Sir Edward Coke, and Mr. Selden, positively named the Duke as the cause of all the evils; "For so (they said) he had been declared in the last Parliament, since when the causes are multiplied, and he hath deserved nothing better of the Commonwealth." Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, reminded the House of the King's desire that all personal aspersions might be forborne; and Sir Henry Martin vindicated the Duke in point of religion, admitting that his

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noble nature might induce him to countenance those of a different persuasion; and he advised that the remonstrance be so framed as to make it passable to his Majesty's judgment and affection. "Let him (said he) be persuaded that it comes from a public sense, and not from private ends."

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, never departing from the strict line of moderation which he laid down for the guidance of his political life, gave his judgment:—

"That if the matter be urged home, it will proclaim the man louder than we can in words. If we name excess of power and abuse of power, it will reach to the Duke and all others in future times; and to a gentleman of honour, nothing is so dear as sense of honour. I am witness, and do know that he did many great and good offices to this House. If the forfeiture of my life could breed an opinion, that ye should have no occasion to complain at your next meeting, I would pawn it to you. Nor let any man say it is fear makes us desist, we have shewed already what we dare do."

However, the Commons came to the conclusion, "That the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham is the cause of all the evils and dangers to the King and kingdom; and that this be added to the remonstrance." This opinion of the House very much excited the feelings of

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the people; and to such a pitch was it carried, that Lamb, the Duke's confessor, was barbarously murdered by the rabble, publicly in the streets of London, for which outrage the City was fined.

The Commons presented their remonstrance against the Duke, and ordered a remonstrance against the undue taking of tonnage and poundage, and all impositions without act of Parliament; during the reading of which in the House, the King sent for the Speaker, and desiring the attendance of the whole House, prorogued the Parliament until the 25th of October; and as a reason for such a precipitate act, declared that he had received one remonstrance, with which he was ill-pleased (alluding to that against Buckingham), and that he would not subject himself to the other, which he knew was framing. Shortly after this, the Duke was murdered at Portsmouth, whither he had gone to take command of the fleet; and Felton admitted, just before his execution, that "the Parliament's remonstrance was the immediate motive to his devilish design." The Parliament was further prorogued until the 20th of January following, during which time the discussions upon the illegality of taking tonnage and poundage were vehement among the lawyers and

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patriots. On the meeting of Parliament, the Commons began their debates upon settling matters of religion, notwithstanding the King's request to take the tonnage and poundage question into their consideration; and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd made the following speech, in behalf of the clergy and of parishes, miserably destitute of instruction through want of maintenance, which was confirmed by the testimony of Bishop Jewel, Master Perkins, and Sir Henry Spelman. Before proceeding to give the speech in question, the Editor may be excused the following extract from Southey's "Book of the Church," chap. xvii. pp. 451 and 452, where the author, speaking of the fanatical state of society, and the danger which was hanging over the Church of England, pays a just tribute to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's exertions in the cause of religion and moderation, and cites this speech against scandalous livings. He observes, "It was well said by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, one of the most upright and able men of that age, 'that scandalous livings cannot but have scandalous ministers.'"

This speech, which is copied from the MS. in the Harleian Library, was spoken in January 1628, in a committee upon religion, and is well worthy the most attentive consideration. It is a singular circumstance that this admirable address,

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which made such an impression upon the thinking portion of mankind, and has been so often referred to by ancient as well as modern writers, is altogether omitted in the "Parliamentary History," a work compiled with so much care, and, generally speaking, so accurate in its information.

"*Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's Speech against Scandalous Livings.**

"Mr. Pymme,—I did not think to have spoken again to this bill, because I was willing to believe that the forwardness of this committee would have prevented me; but now I do hold myself bound to speake, and to speake in earnest. In the first year of the King, and the second convention, I first moved for the increase and enlargement of poor ministers' livings: I shewed how necessary it was to be done—how shameful it was that it had been so long neglected. This was also commended to the House by his Majesty. There were then, as now, many accusations on foot against scandalous ministers. I was bold to tell the House, that there were scandalous livings too, which were much the cause of the other. Livings of five markes—of five pounds a-yeare—that men of worth and of parts would not be musled up to such pittances. And that there were some places in England, which were scarce in Christendome, where God was little better knowne than amongst the Indians. I exampled

* In the short abstract of Rudyerd's previous speech upon this question, p. 104, second and third lines, read "against scandalous livings as well as scandalous ministers."

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it in the utmost skirts of the north, where the prayers of the common people are more like spels and charmes than devotions. The same blindness and ignorance is in divers parts of Wales, which many of that country doe both know and lament. I declared also, that to plant good ministers in good livings, was the strongest and surest means to establish true religion—that it would prevaile more against Papistry than the making of new lawes, or executing of old. That it would counterworke Court conscience and luckewarme accommodation. That though the calling of ministers be never so glorious within, yet outward poverty will bring contempt upon them, especially amongst those who measure men by the acre and weigh them by the pound, which, indeed, is the greatest part of men. Mr. Pymme,—I cannot but testifie how, being in Germany, I was scandalized exceedingly to see the poore stipendary ministers of the Reformed Churches there despised and neglected by reason of their poverty, being, otherwise, very grave and learned men. I am afraid this is part of the burthen of Germany, which ought to be a warning to us. I have heard many objections and difficulties, even to impossibilities, against this bill: to him who is unwilling, there is ever a beare or a lion in the way. First let us make ourselves willing, then will the way bee easie and safe enough. I have observed, that we are always very eager and fierce against Papistry, against scandalous ministers, and against things which are not much in our power; I should be glad to see that we did delight as well in rewarding as in punishing, and in undertaking matters within our own reach, as this is absolutely within our

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power. Our own duties are next us — other men's farther off. I do not speak this that I doe mislike the destroying or putting down of that which is ill, but then let us be as earnest to plant and build up that which is good in the room of it; for why should we be desolate? The best and gentlest way to dispel darkness is to let in the light. We say that day breakes, but no man ever heard the noise of it. God comes in the still voyce, let us quietly mend our candlesticks, and we cannot want lights.

"I am afraid this backwardness of ours will give the adversary occasion to say, 'That we chuse our religion because it is the cheaper of the two: that we would willingly serve God with somewhat that would cost us naught.' Believe, Mr. Pymme, he that thinks to save any thing by his religion but his soule, will be a terrible looser in the end. We sow sparingly—that's the reason we reape so sparingly, and have no more fruite. Meethinks, whosoever hates Papistry should, by the same rule, hate covetousnes, for that's idolatry too. I never liked hot professions and cold actions. Such an heate is rather the heate of distemper and disease than of life and saving health. For scandalous ministers, there is no man shall be more forward to have them severely punished than I will be. When salt hath lost its savour, let it be cast out upon the unsavoury place, the dunghill. But, sir, let us deale with them as God has dealt with us. God, before he made man, made the world, an handsome place for him to dwell in; so let us provide them convenient livings, and then punish them, in God's name; but till then, scandalous livings cannot but have scandalous ministers. It shall ever be a rule

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to me, that when the Church and Commonwealth are both of one religion, it is comely and decent that the outward splendour of the Church should hold a proportion and participate with the prosperity of the temporall state: for why should we dwell in houses of cedars, and suffer God to dwell in skinnes?

"It was a glorious and religious work of King James (I speake it to his unspeakable honour, and to the praise of that nation, who, though their country bee not so rich as ours, yet are they richer in their affections to religion), within the space of one yeare he caused to be planted churches through all Scotland, the Highlands, and the Borders, with 30*l.* a-yeare a-piece, with a house and some glebe land belonging to them; which 30*l.* a-yeare, considering the cheapness of the countrey, and the modest fashion of ministers living there, is worth double as much as anywhere within an 100 miles of London. The printed act and commission whereby it was executed I have here in my hand, delivered to me by a noble gent. of that nation, and a worthy member of this House, Sir Francis Steward. To conclude, though Christianity and religion be established generally throughout this kingdom, yet until it be planted more particularly, I shall scarce think this a Christian commonwealth. And seeing that it hath been moved and shewed in Parliament, it will lie heavy upon Parliaments until it be effected. Let us do something for God, here of our owne; and, no doubt, God will blesse our proceedings in this place the better for ever hereafter. And, for mine own part, I will never give over soliciting this cause as long as Parliaments and I live together."

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The Commons, however, persevered in their intentions as to the matters of religion, and, on the 27th January, both Houses joined in petitioning the King for a solemn fast, who answered:—

"That the chief motive of your petition, being the deplorable condition of the reformed churches abroad, is too true; and our duty is, so much as in us lieth, to give them all possible help; but, certainly, fighting will do them more good than fasting, though I do not wholly disallow of the latter: yet I must tell you, that the custom of fasting every session is but lately begun, and, I confess, I am not fully satisfied with the necessity of it at this time," &c.

Shortly after this, the Commons (upon the Speaker's refusing to put the question, which he stated "he had order from his Majesty not to do,") adjourned until the 25th February; and, again, it was further adjourned, by his Majesty's command, until the 2d of March, when the House requiring the Speaker, as before, to put the question, he said, "I have a command from his Majesty to adjourn the House until the 10th of March, and to put no question." Upon which, while several members held him down in the chair, and in the midst of the greatest confusion, (during which some blows were given by Mr. Coriton, who struck Mr.

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Winerton, and was afterwards proceeded against in the Star Chamber), the House framed the celebrated Declaration or Protestation; 1st, Against whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, &c.; 2d, Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, &c.; and, 3d, Whosoever shall yield voluntarily to such impositions, &c., shall be esteemed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. After which, the doors were unlocked, and the Gentleman Usher of the Lords admitted, the Commons having previously adjourned until the 10th of March; but the King, by his proclamation of the same day, dissolved the Parliament. At the same time, warrants were issued for the commitment of several members to the Tower, who were the principal abettors and movers in these actions; amongst whom were John Selden, William Coriton, Sir Miles Hobart, Denzil Holles, Benjamin Valentine, Walter Long, William Strode, and Sir Peter Hayman.

Eleven years now passed away, during which the King, aided by Laud and Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, administered the government of the country without the aid of any parliament. Of the proceedings of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, little can be discovered during all that

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period. One circumstance of deep importance to him occurred in the year 1630. This was the death of his excellent friend, and connexion by marriage, William the third Earl of Pembroke, which event overwhelmed him with grief, and cast universal sorrow over the people, to whom his many good qualities, his elevated mind, and his honourable and upright conduct, had greatly endeared him. It is probable that the time of Sir Benjamin was fully occupied in discharging the duties of his judicial situation as Second Judge of the Court of Wards; indeed, in the following letter to his friend Lord Leycester, he says as much:—

"To the Right Honorable the Earle of Leycester, Extraordinary Embassador for His Maᵗʸ of Greate Britain with the King of France.

"My Lord,—I have received a great honor and favor from your Lordship, that you should think upon your servant so farre off, w'ch I can but acknowledge, being unable to requite. For news (which is the embassador's philosophie) I have so many employments of my vocation, and now so little means to enquire neare hand, as I am utterly ignorant of any thing worth wryting, but that I hear your Lordship hath given His Majesty very good satisfaction in his business, and planted in him a greate opinion of your Lordship's abillities. I hartily wishe your Lordship may likewise find a proportionable compensation for

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both at your returne. No man shall be more glad to see you in the right place of your Lordship's merit than

"Your Lordship's humble and faithfull Servant,

"BEN. RUDYERD.

"*St. Jamesis Lodg,*
20th June, 1637."

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd had ever strongly advocated the claims of the Palatinate. The illustrious and unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, in truth, interested the most factious, for she was sincere in the Protestant faith; and with her was, in a great measure, connected the whole reformed religion of Germany. Early habits of intimacy in the family of Lord Harrington of Exon, who had superintended her education, may in some measure have strengthened his partiality for this illustrious lady, whose accomplishments rendered her universally beloved. About this time she was reduced to the greatest distress; and though Sir Benjamin Rudyerd had, from a conscientious feeling, taken his stand against the oppressions of the monarch, yet the Court entertained the same kind feelings towards him, of which no stronger proof can be adduced than the following letter, which is a sad evidence of the distress of this accomplished and illustrious ancestor of the sovereigns of England

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of the House of Brunswick. There is no imputation on the character of Charles for not assisting her. History proves that he was unable to make a provision even for this his only sister.

"To Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Knt., Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries.

"Good Sir Benjamin,—I must entreat your help in a business that concerns your sister and my servant, Harrington, and which, some years ago, did send to you about. It is, to know if you can get her some means to subsist in the place where she is, she having spent her portion in my service, and I am in a condition, you know, that I cannot help her, or I would. I have, therefore, again tryed my Lord Chamberlain, and have also written to my Lord Privee Seale, to entreat them to help her, either for getting her a suite, or otherwise, as they shall think fit. I pray you, be their remembrancer, as I have written to them that I have entreated you to be so. I need not tell you how much reason I have to doe for her, knowing the obligation I have to her and familie, besides the love I bear herself. I know you are so much her friend as, I doubt not, you will do the best you can for her. She is very modest, for she wisheth but for five hundred pounds; and if you can get her more it were better. I leave to your judgment the carriage of this business; and what you shall do in it I shall esteem it as done for myself, who am glad by this occasion to advise you that I doe not forget you, and I am constant in esteeming you, as you deserve, my friend, which, believe me,

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I will never change, but am ever your assured, affectionate friend. I pray, let me know how this business doth take effect. If you can get her some little ward, of a thousand or five hundred pounds, I should take it extreme well. I speak to you of this, because it belongs to your place.

" ELIZABETH.

" *The Hague, this 6th of April.*"

At this distant period, it would be difficult to trace the success of Sir Benjamin in this business. The oppressive practices of the Court of Wards, however, are in this letter alluded to by the Queen of Bohemia as a means by which Miss Harrington may be served. This gentlewoman, who was sister to Lady Rudyerd, devoted her whole life and fortune in the service of the Princess; and though the affectionate manner in which she is named was due to her fidelity, the tone of her letter evinces how strongly the highly cultivated mind of this illustrious and suffering ancestor of the House of Brunswick was imbued with the feeling of gratitude, and that a sense of obligation was far from wanting acknowledgment on her part, even to her inferiors.

It appears that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, during the period in question, profited by one of the commercial speculations of the time as

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a trader under patent to the Isle of Providence, for in one of M. Garrard's amusing letters to the Earl of Strafford when Lord Deputy of Ireland, dated 16th December, 1637, he writes :—

"Our East India Company have this week two ships come home, which a little revives them. The traders also, into the Isle of Providence, who are the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Saye, the Lord Mandeville, the Lord Brook, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Mr. Pymme, and others, have taken a prize, sent home, worth 15,000*l.*, by virtue of letters of mart, granted to the planters there by His Majesty for some injuries done them by the Spaniard."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. ii. 141.

It is probable, however, that it was merely a private speculation, not dependant upon the King's favour, which any patent would imply; as, even at that period, it is unlikely Mr. Pym would have found much favour in the King's sight.

The occurrences, from the dissolution in 1628 until the meeting of the new Parliament in 1640, were principally, the peace concluded with the crowns of France and Spain upon better terms than from Charles's circumstances might have been expected: the exigencies of the state (to support which, the King was obliged to resort to many illegal projects), tonnage and poundage (resisted by Parliament), and other

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duties imposed upon merchandise, were rigorously collected, and new and heavy imposts were laid upon trade. Forcing people to take up knighthood, the revival of the old forest laws, and other grievous projects, were set on foot, the effects of which falling on the better orders, were, in the hour of peril, remembered by them with great bitterness. Again, the ship-money, where, under pretence of furnishing a navy, writs were sent to every sheriff in England to provide a ship-of-war for the King's service, with private instructions to them, nevertheless, that the money (not the ships) was wanted. This source of infinite annoyance and exaction upon the people, through the sheriff and his officers, produced at least 200,000*l.* a-year to the King's treasury, and created a terrible addition to matters of grievance in the next Parliament. The only other point of great and vital importance was the conduct of the Scotch, who had risen in open enmity to the King in consequence of his desire to force upon them the uniformity of worship; and Charles had found himself compelled, upon his own resources and the occasional supply he received from his clergy, to raise and equip a body of troops to meet the Covenanters at York. Here he entered into terms which only delayed the insurrection of his Scottish

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subjects for a time, during which he was obliged, though reluctantly, to call a Parliament, through which he hoped to obtain the necessary supplies. Nearly twelve years had now elapsed since his subjects had witnessed the assembly of their representatives, to form with the King and peers a constitutional Parliament. Writs were accordingly issued: and, on the 13th of April, 1640 (16 Car. 1), the Parliament, in which Sir B. Rudyerd was again returned for Wilton with Sir H. Vane, senior, opened at Westminster. On the 15th the Commons elected Mr. Sergeant Glanvile their Speaker; and, after the usual preliminaries, the House desired the Lords to join them in a petition to his Majesty for a fast "to beg the Divine assistance and direction upon their consultations, and that by solemn humiliation through the whole kingdom." The King acquainted them with the affronts and indignities of his Scottish subjects, of which they would take no notice, not even of the palpable practising of treason with the French king now discovered to them. They began, as usual, with their grievances—ship-money, monopolies, Star Chamber, High Commission Court, &c. And, upon a petition from the county of Hertford against these grievances, Mr. Harbottle Grimstone made a violent speech, in which he stated,

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that the dangers at home were as appalling as those which were adverted to in the King's speech: and, said he,—

"It is impossible to cure an ulcerous body unless you first cleanse the veins, and purge the body from the obstructions and pestilent humours that surcharge nature; and that being once done, the botches, blanes, and scabs, which grow upon the superficies and outside of the body, will dry up, shed, and fall away of themselves. The danger that hath now been presented to the House, it standeth at a distance; and we heartily wish it were farther off: yet as it stands at a distance, it is so much the less dangerous. But the case I shall put is a case of great danger here at home; and is so much the more dangerous, because it is home-bred, and runs in the veins." And he concluded his address with a motion, as to "whether in the judgment of the House the dangers here at home be not as great and considerable as that presented in the King's speech."

Upon which Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, in order to moderate the violence, and appease the excitement, produced by Mr. Harbottle Grimstone's speech, addressed the House as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker,—We have a great and effectual door of doing good opened unto us; it will be our prudence and the advantage of the nation to make the best thereof. We are here, sir, met by the blessing of God and our King: Parliaments have of late days become unfortunate; it is our duty by our good temper and

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carriage to restore them to their ancient lustre. There be some here present who can remember the breaking up of the last Parliament; a business certainly from which the Papists at that time were not exempt, who now, by the discontinuance of Parliaments, are come to that arrogance and boldness, that they contend with us who are the better subjects. Their envy I like, but their presumption is not to be borne. I wish them no harm, but good; for I desire their conviction. And the way to do that, is to set up better lights who have warmth in them, and are not lukewarm in religion. Surely they that quarrel betwixt preaching and prayer, and would have them contend, never meant well to either: but both must have their due. And yet I know not how it comes to pass; but it hapneth to us, which is in no other religion in the world, that a man may be too religious: and many a one by that scandal is frighted into a deep dissimulation. It is wisdom in us to preserve temper and moderation; for breaking of Parliaments makes dangerous wounds in the body politick; and if the splinters be not pulled out with a gentle hand, we may hereafter despair of cure. In 14 Ed. 3, subsidies were given to the King for his expedition into France; but by the ill management of his treasure here, he was so low that he was glad to make truce with the French King. In 15 Ed. 3, he returns, and summoned a Parliament, wherein there was nothing but jealousies and distempers. In 17 Ed. 3, he called another Parliament to procure an atonement with his subjects, which took good success by their humble carriage to him, and his willingness

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to ratifie their liberty, whereby all breaches were then made up. A Parliament is the bed of reconciliation between King and people; and therefore it is fit for us to lay aside all exasperations, and carry ourselves with humility: howbeit, the King's prerogative may go far, yet, if it be swayed with equanimity, it may be the better borne. Princes are and will be as jealous of their power as the people of their liberties, though both are then best when kept within their several bounds. Levying of moneys is a great disturbance to the subject, and so will be the scarcity of the King's revenues until they be supplied; and where the power of the King and necessity meet in one hand, he will not long be disappointed. But before the ending of this Parliament (the untimely breaking of which would be the breaking of us), I doubt not but His Majestie's revenue may be so settled, that he may live plentifully at home and abroad, and without taking any thing from His Majesty, save that which of itself would fall away. In former Parliaments, the carriage of some have been so haughty as though Parliaments would last always; and the carriage of others as if there would be never any again; and, therefore, a moderation (if we love ourselves) is requisite. Delays of remedies are well known, how dangerous they are to the Commonwealth and religion, seeing that, during this vacation of Parliaments, so many disorders have been committed by innovations in religion, violation of laws, and intruding upon liberties. To set all which aright is now our task; and, if in these tempting provocations, we bear a temperate moderation, we shall not

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miss our end, but shall be vindicated by God in his religion, the King in his honour, and the Commonwealth in its gasping extremities. If temper and moderation be not respected by us, beware of having the race of Parliaments rooted out. Men and brethren, what shall we do? If it were for my life, I would desire nothing more than that we proceed with moderation, that so we may have many happy Parliaments, and that no dismal events may happen to any: for when Parliaments are gone we are lost."

This Parliament, like the former, insisted upon following in the beaten track; when, on the 25th of April, a message was delivered from the Lords, desiring "That the consideration of supplies for his Majesty should take precedence of grievances;" which unconstitutional act was by the Commons instantly voted a violation of their privileges. On the 1st of May, Sir Henry Vane, the colleague of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd for the borough of Wilton, who then held the office of Treasurer of the Household, brought a message to the House reminding them of the "danger and disreputation which was likely to fall upon the state and his Majesty's honour, if more time should be lost," and therefore desired their answer as to the matter of supply. Upon which the Commons went into a committee of the whole House, and Mr. William Lenthall, afterwards the well-known Speaker of the Long

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Parliament, was placed in the chair, upon which Sir Benjamin Rudyerd (according to Rushworth and Nalson, though nothing of the kind appears in the "Parliamentary History,") endeavoured to heal the wounds which the most factious had torn open, and if possible to bring the House to an accommodation, and addressed the House in a short, but most pathetic appeal to their feelings, as men and as Christians, in which he urged the dangers of the country, and the great necessities of the King; trusting, however, that they would take no unfair advantage of his Majesty, by reason of the straits to which he was reduced. The Editor does not, however, consider it necessary to enter more fully into the speech in question; not only from the fact of finding no allusion to it in the work in question, but because the substance of this speech is embodied in Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's address delivered on the 7th of November in the same year, but in the subsequent Parliament. The House, however, came to no resolution, except that they appointed Sir Henry Vane to attend his Majesty to acquaint him, that they would proceed upon the message the following day, during which time the King having had notice of their intention to vote against the war with the Scots, came to the

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determination to dissolve the Parliament, which was accordingly done.

The whole time of this Parliament, which lasted only twenty-three days, was entirely consumed with debates as to whether the question of supplies or grievances should have the precedency. The King, however, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative (a right unfortunately administered), foreseeing no easy prospect of the accomplishment of his wishes, and for which alone he had called them together—the filling of his exchequer—hastily dissolved the Parliament. How rashly he acted, Lord Clarendon gives us proof, where the noble author observes, "It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them." How much cause he had to regret the act, the history of the following Parliament fatally discloses.

The King had obtained, by voluntary loans and forced contributions, a considerable sum of money, which he believed would have enabled him again to take the field against his refractory northern subjects. His expectations, however, were not successful; and after having consulted with the Peers, whom he had summoned to

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meet him at York, Charles, made sensible of the dangers by which he was surrounded, was obliged to yield to the desires of his people, that he would call another Parliament.

In the following November the King accordingly summoned a Parliament, and on the third of that month assembled that famous House known afterwards by the name of the Long Parliament. Hume says, "No age had ever produced greater men than the members of that House; they had sufficient abilities and inclination to have rendered their King and country happy, if England had not been, through a chain of concurring accidents, ripened for destruction." The King was induced to call this Parliament as much with a view to oblige his enemies as to please his friends, and though it was necessity that drove him to the act, it is now universally admitted that his intentions were really to redress grievances in Church and State, and if possible, to exceed the desires of the most factiously discontented, if the Parliament had contained themselves within any bounds of moderation. The Speaker chosen was William Lenthall, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn: and soon began the angry discussions of the Royalists and Parliamentarians, these latter afterwards being

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divided into Presbyterians and Independents. In this Parliament, of whom Milton said, "God and man consented, in joint approbation, to chuse them out as the worthiest above others, to be both the greatest reformers of the Church and the restorers of the Commonwealth," Sir Benjamin Rudyerd and his colleague, Sir Henry Vane, senior, again sat as burgesses for the borough of Wilton.

The King being seated on his throne in the House of Peers, the House of Commons were commanded by the Black Rod to attend at the bar of the Lords' House, where his Majesty spoke as follows: "My Lords, — The knowledge that I have of the Scottish subjects was the cause of my calling of the last assembly of Parliament, wherein if I had been believed I do most sincerely think that things had not fallen as we now see; but it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe that so great a sedition should be raised upon so little ground. But, my Lords and Gentlemen, the honour and safety of this kingdom lying so heavily at stake, I am resolved to put myself freely upon the love and affections of my English subjects, as those of my Lords that waited upon me at York very well remember I there declared." The King then advised them to take into consideration,

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first, the chasing out of the Scotch rebels; secondly, the satisfying their just grievances, wherein he promised heartily to concur; the supplies necesssary for maintaining the troops, (the money for which he had borrowed from the City of London, and was only adequate to maintain the army for two months,) and the securing of the northern parts of England from the calamities they were enduring in consequence of the rebellion; and his Majesty thus concluded: "One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this an happy Parliament, that you, on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside suspicion one of another, as I promised my Lords at York, it shall not be my fault if this be not an happy and good Parliament." But, notwithstanding this conciliatory speech, the Commons began as usual to settle their grand committees for grievances, religion, privileges, &c. Upon which Mr. Pym first rose (after the presentation of petitions from various counties), and delivered a very able speech, in which he summed up all the grievances of the nation, and concluded by moving a conference with the Lords upon all these weighty matters. He was followed by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, in a very powerful speech, in which he set forth the dangers of the King and kingdom, and inveighed

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against the cowardice of the ministers in casting all their responsibility from themselves, and throwing the whole weight upon the King. That the speech in question must have made a great impression upon the House, and in the public mind at the time, is sufficiently attested by the fact of the numerous MS. copies which are preserved in the Harleian Library and elsewhere; but the Editor cannot avoid the expression of his astonishment at the entry in the printed index or catalogue of the Harleian MSS. in which, in allusion to Sir Bedjamin Rudyerd's speech on this occasion, and the particular copy of it then before him, the compiler says, "It is in my poor opinion as seditious in itself as this copy of it is incorrectly written."—Vol. ii. The reader will perceive that it breathes a feeling of the purest kindness towards the monarch, in whose favour Sir B. Rudyerd's appeal is almost irresistibly pathetic. It is true he sets forth the fatal consequences arising from the advice of evil counsellors, and entreats a reformation of those glaring abuses which had so grievously attacked the liberties and property of the subject; but even then he urges both lenity and moderation: indeed the whole speech is as far removed, both in spirit and language, from the charge of sedition, as the

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sternest and stanchest loyalty is opposed to the practice of treason.

The following extract from the "History of the Long Parliament," by Sir Thomas May, Knight, Secretary of the Parliament, published by authority, 1647, and republished 1812, adduces further proof of the manner in which this speech was appreciated at the period of its delivery. Sir Thomas May says, page 48:—

"The abuses which of late years had been committed about religion, and the manifest violation of the laws and liberties, were, upon the first day after the House of Commons was settled, being the 9th of November, commented and discoursed upon by Master Grimston, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Master Pym, and Master Bagshaw," &c. He then observes, "that the like speeches, for many daies following, were made by divers gentlemen of great quality; where, in the midst of their complaints, the King was never mentioned but with great honour: they alwaies mixing thanks for the present hope of redresse with their complaints of former grievances. The first of which they rendered to the King, and threw the other upon his ministers; of which, if the reader would see a perfect exemplar, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's speech (the second that was delivered in the House) will best discover the present state of grievances, and the way of sparing the King; he being a religious, learned, and judicious gentleman,

'Cujus erant mores qualis facundia,'

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whose speech I shall wholly insert, that the condition of the state may the better be understood."

"Sir Benjamin Rudyerd rose and spoke as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker,—We are here assembled to do God's business and the King's, in which our own is included, as we are Christians, as we are subjects. Let us fear God, then we shall honour the King the more; for I am afraid we have been the less prosperous in Parliament, because we have preferred other matters before him. Let religion be our *primum quærite*, for all things else are but *et ceteras* to it; yet we may have them too, sooner and surer, if we give God his precedence. We well know what disturbance hath been brought upon the Church for vain, petty trifles. How the whole Church, the whole kingdom, hath been troubled, where to place 'a metaphor'—an altar. We have seen ministers, their wives, children, and families undone, against all law—against conscience—against all bowels of compassion—about not dancing upon Sundays. What do these sort of men think will become of themselves when the master of the house shall come, and find them thus beating their fellow-servants? These inventions are but sieves made on purpose to winnow the best men, and that's the devil's occupation. They have a mind to worry preaching; for I never yet heard of any but diligent preachers that were vexed with these and the like devices. They despise prophecy, and, as one said, 'They would fain be at something more like the mass, that will not

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bite—a muzzled religion.' They would evaporate and dispirit the power and vigour of religion, by drawing it out into some solemn, specious formalities—into obsolete, antiquated ceremonies, new furbished up. And this, belike, is the good work in hand, which Dr. Heylin hath so often celebrated in his bold pamphlets. All their acts and actions are so full of mixtures, involutions, and complications, that nothing is clear, nothing sincere in any of their proceedings. Let them not say, that these are the perverse, suspicious, and malicious interpretations of some few factious spirits amongst us, when a Romanist hath bragged, and been congratulated in print, that the face of our Church begins to alter, and the language of our religion to change: and Sancta Clara hath published, that if a synod were held, *non intermixtis Puritanis*, setting Puritans aside, our articles and their religion would soon be agreed. They have so brought it to pass that, under the name of Puritans, all our religion is branded; and, under a few hard words against Jesuits, all Popery is countenanced. Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a Puritan. Whoever would be governed by the King's laws, he is a Puritan. He that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great work, their masterpiece, now is, to make all those of the religion to be the suspected party of the kingdom. Let us further reflect upon the ill effect these courses have wrought, what by a defection from us on the one side—a separation on the other, some, imagining whither we are tending,

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made haste to turn or declare themselves Papists beforehand, thereby hoping to render themselves the more gracious—the more acceptable. A great multitude of the King's subjects, striving to hold communion with us, but seeing how far we are gone, and fearing how much farther we would go, were forced to fly the land; some into other inhabited countries, very many into savage wildernesses, because this land would not bear them. Do not they that cause these things cast a reproach upon the government? Mr. Speaker, let it be our principal care that these ways neither continue nor return upon us. If we secure our religion, we shall cut off and defeat many plots that are now on foot by them and others. Believe it, our religion hath been for a long time, and still is, the great design upon this kingdom. It is a known and practised principle, that they who would introduce another religion into the Church must first trouble and disorder the government of the state, that so they may work their ends in a confusion which now lies at the door. I come next to the King's business, more particularly, which, indeed, is the kingdom's, for one hath no existence, no being, without the other, their relation is so near; yet some have strongly and subtilly laboured a divorce which has been the very bane both of King and kingdom. When the foundation is shaken, it is high time to look to the building. He hath no heart, no head, no soul, that is not moved in his whole man to look upon the distresses, the miseries of the Commonwealth,—that is not forward in all that he is, and hath, to redress them in a right way. The

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King, likewise, is reduced to great straits, wherein it were undutifulness, nay, inhumanity, to take advantage of him; let us rather make it an advantage for him to do him best service when he hath most need. Not to seek our own good, but in him and with him, else we shall commit the same crimes ourselves which we must condemn in others. His Majesty hath clearly and freely put himself into the hands of this Parliament; and, I presume, there is not a man in this House but feels himself advanced in this high trust: but if he prosper no better in our hands than he hath in theirs who have hitherto had the handling of his affairs, we shall for ever make ourselves unworthy of so gracious a confidence. I have often thought and said, that it must be some great extremity that would recover and rectify this state; and when that extremity did come, it would be a great hazard whether it might prove a remedy or ruin. We are now upon that vertical turning-point, and therefore it is no time to palliate, to foment our own undoing. Let us set upon the remedy, we must first know the disease: but to discover the diseases of the state is, according to some, to traduce the government; yet others are of opinion that this is the half-way to the cure. His Majesty is wiser than they that had advised him, and therefore he cannot but see and feel their subverting, destructive counsels, for they ring a doleful, deadly knell over the whole kingdom. His Majesty best knows who they are; for us, let the matters bolt out the men, their actions discover them. They are men that talk largely of the King's service—have

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done none but their own — and that's too evident. They speak highly of the King's power, but they have made it a miserable power, that produceth nothing but weakness, both to the King and kingdom. They have exhausted the King's revenue to the bottom, nay, through the bottom, and beyond. They have spent vast sums of money, wastefully, fruitlessly, dangerously; so that more money, without other counsels, will be but a swift undoing. They have always, peremptorily, pursued one obstinate, pernicious course. First, they bring things to an extremity; then they make that extremity, of their own making, the reason of their next action, seven times worse than the former; and there we are at this instant. They have almost spoiled the best instituted government in the world, for sovereignty in a king—liberty to the subject; the proportionable temper of both which makes the happiest state for power, for riches, for duration. They have unmannerly and slubb'ringly cast all their projects, all their machinations upon the King, which no wise or good minister ever did, but would still take all harsh, distasteful things upon themselves, to clear, to sweeten their master. They have not suffered his Majesty to appear unto his people in his own native goodness. They have eclipsed him by their own interposition. Although gross, condense bodies may obscure and hinder the sun from shining out, yet is he still the same in his own splendour; and when they are removed, all creatures under him are directed by his light, comforted by his beams. But they have framed a superstitious maxim of state for their own

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turn: 'That if a king will suffer men to be torn from him, he shall never have any good service done him:' when the plain truth is, that this is the surest way to preserve a king from having ill servants about him. And the divine truth likewise is, 'Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established.' Mr. Speaker, now we see what the sores are in general, and when more particulars appear, let us be very careful to draw out the cores of them; not to skim them over with a slight, suppurating, fest'ring cure, lest they break out again into a greater mischief: consider of it—consult and speak your minds. It hath heretofore been boasted, 'that the King should never call a parliament till he had no need of his people.' These were words of derision and malignity. The King must always, according to his occasions, have use of his people's power, hearts, hands, purses. The people will always have need of the King's clemency, justice, protection; and this reciprocation is the strongest, the sweetest union. It hath been said, too, of late, 'That a parliament will take more from the King than they will give him.' It may be well said, that those things which will fall away of themselves will enable the subjects to give him more than can be taken any way else. Projects and monopolies are but leaking conduit-pipes; the exchequer itself, at the fullest, is but a cistern, and now a broken one—frequent parliaments only are the fountain: and I do not doubt but in this parliament, as we shall be free in our advices, so shall we be the more free of our purses, that his Majesty may expe-

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rimentally find the real difference of better counsels, the true, solid grounds of raising and establishing his greatness, never to be brought again (by God's blessing) to such dangerous, such desperate perplexities. Mr. Speaker, I confess I have now gone in a way much against my nature, and somewhat against my custom heretofore used in this place; but the deplorable, dismal condition, both of Church and State, have so far wrought upon my judgment, as it hath convinced my disposition: yet I am not *vir sanguinum* —I love no man's ruin. I thank God, I neither hate any man's person, nor envy any man's good fortune; only I am zealous for a thorough reformation in a time that exacts it—that extorts it; which I humbly beseech this House may be done with as much lenity and as much moderation as the public safety of the King and kingdom can possibly admit."

For a considerable period both Houses were now occupied with impeachments against Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; Secretary Windebank, who, making his escape to Calais, stopped the further progress of their proceedings; the Lord Keeper, Finch, who likewise effected his escape to the Hague; against Sir George Ratcliffe, for his concern in the proceedings of the Earl of Strafford; against that unfortunate nobleman himself; and against Dr. Cosins, prebendary and treasurer of Durham, for encouraging Popery and idolatry. Informations were

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also presented against Dr. Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Piers, Bishop of Bath and Wells; the former for setting up idolatry and superstition in divers places, and the latter for many heinous crimes tending to corruption and subversion of religion in his diocess; these, together with the impeachment of Judge Berkely, were the principal matters of a personal nature which occurred during the months of November and December. Upon which questions it does not appear that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd took any active part; but, on the 23d of the latter month, the Commons having voted itself into a Committee of the whole House on the supply, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd rose and said,

"Mr. Speaker,—The principal part of this business is money; and now we are about it, I shall be glad we may give so much as will not only serve the turn for the present, but likewise to provide that it come not quick upon us again. I believe that the two subsidies are spent already. We know how much time this business hath cost us; if we be but half as long about another it may cost more than money: for if two armies should be driven to extreme necessity (and they will be judges of their own necessity), we shall not be able to sit here and give more though we could. Believe it, sir, this is the business of all the businesses of the House—of all the businesses of the kingdom; if we stand hacking for a little money we may very shortly

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lose all we have: this being a business of so peremptory and destructive a nature. Wherefore, my humble and earnest motion is, that we may despatch it fully and at once; if there should be an overplus of money remaining, we can soon resolve how to dispose of it. Four subsidies will do the work, if they be given presently; for every day tells us that we are not so much masters of our own time and occasions as to do every thing as we would: let us do this whilst we may. Though I dwell not in the north, yet I dwell in England."

This speech, taken from the original edition printed by Thomas Walkley, is the only one given in the "Parliamentary History" upon this question; and upon which it appears the House resolved, "That two subsidies more should be added to those already agreed upon, to be employed to the same uses, or to such as this House shall appoint."

In the following month, January 15, the King, upon a representation of the House, consented to an alteration in the judges' patents, to the effect, that instead of holding their offices during pleasure, *durante bene placito*, for the future their tenure should be, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*. This measure was hailed with great joy by the people, who had experienced the ill effects of the dependent state of the judicial bench, from which no class of society was ex-

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empt where superior influence intervened between the judge and his conscience. Hitherto it may be considered as one of the best achievements of the Commons, though this great measure of the independence of the bench was lost to the country at the Restoration, and was not entirely accomplished until the commencement of the reign of our late revered monarch George III. And the fact of its having been the spontaneous act of his Majesty, immediately after his accession to the throne, greatly enhanced the value of the concession, whilst it proved the King's fitness for government in thus placing the stream of justice beyond the possibility of courtly pollution.

On the 22d of January in a Grand Committee of the whole House for the relief of the Scots, the "Parliamentary History" says "there was a very long and serious debate." However, the speeches of Sir John Wray and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd only are there recorded. The former hailed the occasion with infinite joy, as holding out the prospect of a happy reunion with his brethren of Scotland; he inveighed against the bishops (to whom he attributed the late disunion between the two countries), from their desire to break with those who worshipped but one God, and served but one Master with themselves; he

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felt assured the Scots would withdraw their forces upon reasonable terms; and he was equally certain that the House would give a bountiful, cheerful, and speedy supply; for, said he in conclusion, *bis dat qui cito dat* is the best motto or motion at this time. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, however, did not so cheerfully view either the position of the Scots or their demands, which amounted to 514,000*l.*, an enormous sum in those days; and he replied to Sir John Wray in the following speech:—

"Mr. Speaker,—It will become us thankfully to acknowledge the prudent and painful endeavours of my Lords, the peers commissioners, in treating with the Scots, and in mediating with the King; whereby, God assisting, we are now probably drawing near to a blessed peace. His Majesty, in his wisdom and goodness, is graciously pleased to give his royal assent to their Acts of Parliament, wherein the articles of their Assembly are likewise included; insomuch as their religion, their laws, their liberties, are ratified and established, besides their grievances relieved and redressed, for which we used to give the King money, and are still ready to do it. This, although it be a large, yet it is not received as a full satisfaction. Besides, when they came into England, they published in a remonstrance 'That they would take nothing of the English but what they would pay for or give security:' we have defrayed them hitherto, and have

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promised to do it longer. They may well remember that we assisted them in the time of their reformation; and it is not to be forgotten that we did bear our own charges. Concerning mutual restitution of ships and goods, my Lords the commissioners have very fairly and discreetly accommodated that particular already. As for inferential and consequential damages, such a representation would but administer unacceptable matter of difference and contestation; which, amongst friends, ought to be warily and wisely avoided. We could allege, and truly too, that Northumberland, Newcastle, and the bishoprick will not recover their former state these twenty years. We have heard it spoken here in this House by an understanding, knowing member in this particular, that the coal-mines in Newcastle will not be set right again for 100,000*l.* besides the overprice of coals, which all the while it hath and will cost the city and other parts of the kingdom. A great deal more of this nature might be rehearsed; but I delight not to press such tender stretched arguments: let us on both sides rather thank God by proceeding in the way he hath laid before us, and wry not his way to ours: time and his blessing will repair all our implicit damages with many prosperous explicit advantages. They say that they do not make any formal demand, but they do make a sum to appear, 514,000*l.*, which is more than ever we gave the King at once. A portentous apparition which shews itself in a very dry time, when the King's revenue is totally exhausted, his debts excessively multiplied, the kingdom generally impoverished by griev-

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ous burdens and disordered courses! All this supply to be drawn out of us only without the least help of any of his Majesty's other dominions, which, to my seeming, will be an utter draining of the people, unless England be a *puteus inexhaustus*, as the popes were wont to call it. Notwithstanding, sir, now that I have in part opened the state we are in, though nothing so exactly as they have done theirs, I shall most willingly and heartily afford the Scots whatsoever is just, equitable, and honourable, even to a convenient considerable round sum of money towards their losses and expenses, that we may go off with a friendly and handsome loss; if they reject it, we shall improve our cause. It was never yet thought, Mr. Speaker, any great wisdom overmuch to trust to a successful sword. A man that walks upon a rising ground, the farther he goes the larger his prospect. Success enlarges men's desires, extends their ambition, it breeds thought in them that never thought before: this is natural and usual. But the Scots being truly touched with religion, according to their profession, that only is able to make them keep their word; for religion is stronger and wiser than reason or even reasons of state. Beyond all this, the remarkable traces of God's wonderful providence in this strange work are so many, so apparent, that I cannot but hope almost to believe that the same all-governing, merciful hand will conduct and lead us to a happy conclusion, will contract a closer, firmer union between the two nations than any mere human policy could have effected, with inestimable benefits to both, in advancing the truth of religion, in exalting the

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greatness of the King, in securing the peace of the kingdom against all malicious, envious, ambitious opposites to religion, to the King, to his kingdoms, wherein I presume all our desires and prayers do meet."

On the 3d of February this question was again taken into consideration by a Committee of the whole House, when, instead of 514,000*l.*, the amount demanded by the Scots, the House resolved upon offering them 300,000*l.* And as they received the notification of this resolution with joy, and expressed their grateful thanks to the House, it was a convincing proof that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd formed a better estimate of their intentions than the preceding speaker. On the 10th of February the King gave his assent to the Bill for triennial Parliaments, for which both Houses gave him their most humble and hearty thanks. It appears, however, that the facility with which the King now yielded to the demands of Parliament only served to increase their appetite for demolition, the spirit of which extended itself daily to almost every institution under the monarchy from this period until even monarchy itself disappeared from the face of the nation.

In the previous month, December 11, a petition had been presented to Parliament, from

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the City of London, against the bishops, signed by 15,000 citizens, entitled, "A particular of the manifold evils, pressures, and grievances caused, practised, and occasioned by the prelates and their dependants." It contained twenty-eight principal charges declaratory of the support they afforded to Catholicism and Arminianism by suppressing preaching, the decoration of altars, hindering the publication of godly books, particularly those which struck either at Popery or Arminianism, prohibiting marriages, and against the multitudes of canons formerly made, but chiefly those made in the late sacred synod; almost all the other charges consisted of complaints against those usages and ceremonies of the Church of England, most of which are preserved and practised at the present day; and against which the Presbyterians and Dissenters alone inveigh.

With regard to the canons "made in the late sacred synod," Mr. Grimston, Member for Colchester, observed, that "the new oath enjoined by them to be taken would have us at the very first start swear to a damnable heresy, viz.: 'That matters necessary to salvation are contained in the discipline of the Church;' whereas (he continued) it hath ever been the tenet of our Church, that all things necessary to salvation

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are contained in the doctrine of our Church only." He also inveighed against the benevolence which they granted in this synod, "which was (as he observed), in plain English, six subsidies to be paid by the clergy in six years; and the penalties they have imposed upon the refusers, for non-payment, is to be deprived of their functions, to be stripped of their freehold, and to be excommunicated." This benevolence did not appear among the canons, but in a book by itself in the Latin language. In the course of the debate Sir Benjamin Rudyerd addressed the following speech to the House against the canons in question on the 15th of December:—

"Mr. Speaker,—A man may easily see to what tend all these innovations and alterations in doctrine and discipline, and, without a prospective, discover afar off the toilsomeness of these spiritual engineers to undermine the old and true foundations of religion, and to establish their tottering hierarchy in room thereof, which, lest it should not hold, being built with untempered mortar, you see how careful they are, by a vast oath, to force men's consciences not to alter their government archiepiscopal, &c.

"Mr. Speaker, the thoughts of the righteous are right, but the counsels of the wicked are deceit, and nothing else in their hearts but destruction and devastation; but to the counsellors of peace is joy. As long as they kept themselves within the circuit of spiritual

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commerce, and studied to keep men's hearts upright to God and his truth, there was no such complaining in our streets of them, nor had we ever seen so many thousands against them as now there are come in. And no marvel though God withdrew so many hearts and hands from them, who have turned so many out of the way of truth, *via tuta* they have stopt up, but *via devia* they have enlarged and left open, as appears by their crooked canons.

" Mr. Speaker, I shall not go about to overthrow their government in the plural, but to limit and qualify it in some particulars; for, as Sir Francis Bacon long since well observed, there were two things in the government of bishops of which he could never be satisfied. No more am I. The first was the sole exercise of their authority; and, secondly, the deputation of that authority. But, Mr. Speaker, I shall not dispute of either. For my own part, I love some of them so well, and am so charitable to the rest, that I wish rather their reformation than their ruin: but let me tell you withall, that if we find among them any proud Becket or Woolsey — prelates who stick not to write, *ego et rex meus;* or if there shall be found any Bonners, &c., such, I profess, I would not spare, for they will spare none; but if in the counterbalance there may be found but one good Cranmer, or one good Latimer, or Ridley, I would esteem and prize them as rich jewels, fit to be set in the King's own cabinet; for such, I am sure, will pray for the peace of Jerusalem, and for the peace of King Charles and his three kingdoms, which God long preserve in concord and unity. But, Mr.

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Speaker, we must also be actors in the preservation of religious concordance, which will never be safe nor well at quiet until these heavy, drossy canons, with all their base metal, be melted and dissolved. Let us then dismount them and destroy them, which is my humble motion."—(Rushworth, vol. i. part iii. p. 105.)

And on the same day, "It was resolved upon the question, *nullo contradicente*, 1. That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation, or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever, in matter of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of this land, without common consent of Parliament. 2. That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, presidents of the respective, &c., with the rest of the bishops, &c., and agreed on with the King's license in their several synods, do not bind the clergy or laity of this land, or either of them." And on the following day, they voted, "That the canons contain in them matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the laws of the realm, the rights of Parliament, the property and liberty of the subject. And that the several grants of benevolence and contributions made to the King by the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York in the several convocations holden at

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London and York in 1640, were contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

With regard to the other charges contained in the London petition, and actively disseminated through the country by those who were adverse to Episcopacy, it must be admitted that, had the bishops been guilty only of a tithe of them, they would justly have merited the universal censure of a Protestant community.

In the course of this debate upon grievances, many excellent speeches were delivered, and much solemn eloquence was displayed upon the all-important question of religion. The Lord Digby, eldest son of the Earl of Bristol, Sir John Colepeper, Mr. Grimston, and others, as unquestionably opposed to Puritanism as was the King himself, but more decidedly attached to Protestantism, loudly complained of the grievous attacks made upon orthodox ministers by the enemies of the Church. And on the presentation of a petition from Mr. Wilson, a Kentish clergyman, then under the ban of Archbishop Laud, Sir Edward Deering of Surrenden, M. P. for Kent, inveighed bitterly against the artful manner in which the favourers of Romanism branded the ministers of the reformed religion with the name of Puritans. He

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spoke highly of the character of the petitioner, "than whom," he said, "he knew no man more orthodox in his doctrine, conformable in his life, or laborious in the ministry;" and he concluded his address with the following high compliment to our author Rudyerd:—"He (Mr. Wilson) is now a sufferer, as all good men are, under the general obloquy of a Puritan, as, with other things, was excellently delivered by that silver trumpet at the bar, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd."—See "Parl. Hist." pp. 643 and 662, vol. ii.; and Sir Edward Deering's "Speeches," published by him 1642. Rushworth observes, "That the speeches of the members here named, with some few others, did so convince the House, not only upon religion, but grievances generally, that when a question was put relating to any considerable grievance, not one member offered to put a negative upon it."

This whole question, however, notwithstanding all that has been written upon the subject by contemporaneous and subsequent authors (including the most eminent divines), appears to be beset with difficulties. On the one side, abound the solemn declarations of the clergy inculpated in these and similar charges, of the soundness of their doctrine according to the articles of the Protestant faith; on the other

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side, there is no lack of evidence as to facts conclusive of their Romanist predilections. This attack upon the Church, for undoubtedly such was its aim, does not appear to be altogether without some just foundation; for though its government, under bishops, deans, and other dignitaries, is, as our author Rudyerd wisely observed, "the best, the most primitive, and, therefore, the truest form of government which could be adopted," and the apostolical succession in our Church clearly established; and though, through a long period of years, the dignitaries of the Church have proved themselves the brightest ornaments of learning and unexampled piety, still at this time the apparent tenacity of some to Romanist customs, such as bowing to the altar, or at the altar; their denial of the authority of the King as the supreme head of the Church,* a doctrine that even Philip of Spain upheld in temporalities; their frequent interdiction against preaching, or the expounding of the Word of God; their singing or chanting the whole service; the setting up again of those images which had been taken down and condemned at the Reformation,

* One of the charges against Dr. Cosins, Dean of Durham, on his impeachment, was his statement made at a public dinner, "That the King had no more power in ecclesiastical affairs than the boy who rubbed his horse's heels."

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particularly upon the permanent establishment of the Protestant religion under Elizabeth;—all these facts, which, even if greatly exaggerated, were at least sincerely believed, seemed like a retrograde motion on the part of the high clergy, somewhat similar to that of the Pusey party at the present time, towards the Romish rites and tenets, instead of that progressive advancement in the doctrines and discipline of the primitive Christians which the great majority of the nation so ardently desired.* Added to which, the lukewarmness of the King, if not upon the subject of religion, at least with reference to the enforcing of the laws against Papists (for their inhumanity and cruel severity is not now the question at issue), and the continual exercise of his prerogative of mercy towards recusants; the Queen's open profession of Romanism, which threw an unwelcome protection over the numerous Roman Catholics and court favourites who resorted to her chapel; all these facts, or supposed facts, were sufficient to excite the people to acts of violence; and the Parliament, just beginning to feel its authority, to measures of oppression and injustice. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the question of religion should have had precedency

* See Rudyerd's speech, p. 160.

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of all other grievances, and that the Parliament should first of all attack those positions which the heads or rulers of the Church had themselves weakened by the exertion of a doubtful power, and to a stretch of unquestionable illegality, as was the case with reference to the canons; which the citizens of London thus designated in their famous petition:—"Also the canons made in the late sacred synod, as they call it, wherein are many strange and dangerous devices to undermine the Gospel and the subjects' liberties, to propagate Popery, to spoil God's people, ensnare ministers and other students, and so to draw all into an absolute subjection and thraldom to them and their government, despoiling both the King and the Parliament of their power." The petition then went on to pray "the removal of the prelates and their dependencies out of England, as the only means of putting an end to the war with the Scots, which they (the prelates) had fomented." [It will be in the reader's recollection that this war was now settled.]

The Editor, fearful of encumbering these Memoirs with opinions which may not easily be proved to have emanated from our author Rudyerd, will proceed, without further com-

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ment, to point out the several attacks which, at this period, were successively and, for a time, successfully made upon the government of the Church.

The first was the bill for restraining bishops and others in holy orders from intermeddling in secular affairs, which had been brought in, in consequence of the resolution of the Commons of the 11th March, 1641, "That for bishops, or any other clergyman whatsoever, to be in the commission of the peace, or to have any judicial power in the Star Chamber, or in any civil court, is a hinderance to their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away." On the 27th May following, the Lords having admitted the right of the bishops to suffrage and voice in the House of Peers, in as full and ample a manner, and of as ancient right, as the Peers themselves, though agreeing to the main points in the bill of the Commons, demanded a conference with the other House; but, on the same day, Sir Edward Deering brought in a bill for the *utter abolishing* of bishops, deans, prebendaries, &c. When this gentleman published his speeches in 1642 (and for which he was expelled the House, such was the boasted liberty of that day), he thus

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apologised for the presentation of the bill in question: "This bill was pressed into my hand by Sir Arthur Haslerig, being then brought unto him by Sir Henry Vane, Junior, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell." He then goes on to say, that he hardly had time to peruse it; but, upon the presentation of a petition from Lincolnshire by Sir Edward Ayscough, which was seconded by Mr. Strode, he had such a fair invitation to issue forth the bill then in his hand, that he stood up and said:—

"Mr. Speaker,—The gentleman that spoke last, taking notice of the multitude of complaints and complainants against the present government of the Church, doth somewhat seem to wonder that we have no more pursuit ready against the persons so offending. Sir, the time is present, and the work is ready, perhaps beyond his expectation. Sir, I am now the instrument to present unto you a very short but a very sharp bill, such as these times and their sad necessities have brought forth. It speaks a free language, and makes a bold request. It is a purging bill. I give it to you as I take physic, not for delight but for cure; a cure now, the last and only cure, if, as I hope, all other remedies have first been tried," &c.

It is obvious, from the tenor of his speech, that Sir Edward Deering regretted the course he was even then pursuing. He was evidently

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wavering between his desire to acquire that popularity, which the advocacy of such a measure was sure to procure for him in those times of phrenetic excitement against all that savoured of Romanism, and the doubts upon his mind as to the justice and propriety of the measure itself. In another part of his speech, he says, "I shall give a said 'Aye' to this bill when it is perfected; and at the delivery thereof, I do now profess beforehand, that if my former hopes of a full reformation may yet revive and prosper, I will again divide my sense upon this bill, and yield my shoulders to under-prop the *primitive*, lawful, and just *Episcopacy;*" thus admitting, like a gentleman of strict honour and moral principle (for such, notwithstanding this act of weakness, was his real character), that the measure he proposed was contrary to the Gospel truth and the Gospel law. The conduct, however, of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd upon this question, to his honour be it spoken, differed materially from that of his friend Sir Edward Deering. He saw the errors of the bishops, but his practised mind projected an easy and safe remedy in their reformation; and in the course of the debate, he thus delivered his opinions, both as regarded the bill in question and the London petition against them:—

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"Mr. Speaker,—I do verily believe that there are many of the clergy in our Church who do think the simplicity of the Gospel too mean a vocation for them to serve in. They must have a specious, pompous, sumptuous religion, with additionals of temporal greatness, authority, negotiation, notwithstanding they all know better than I what fathers, schoolmen, councils, are against their mixing themselves in secular affairs.

"This Roman ambition will at length bring in the Roman religion, and, at last, a haughty insolence even against supreme power itself, if it be not timely and wisely prevented.

"They have amongst them an apophthegm of their own making, which is, 'no miter, no scepter;' when we know by dear experience, that if the miter be once in danger, they care not to throw the scepter after it, to confound the whole kingdom for their interest. And histories will tell us, that whensoever the clergy went high, monarchy went still lower. If they could not make the monarch the head of their own faction, they would be sure to make him less: witness one example for all, the Pope's working the Emperour out of Italy. Some of ours, as soon as they are bishops, *adepto fine, cessant motus*, they will preach no longer; their office is then to govern. But, in my opinion, they govern worse than they preach, though they preach not at all; for we see to what pass their government hath brought us. Mr. Speaker,—it now behoves us to restrain the bishops to the duties of their functions, as they may never more hanker after heterogeneous, extravagant employments. Not to be so absolute, so

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single and solitary in actions of moment, as excommunication, absolution, ordination, and the like, but to joyn some of the ministry with them; and, further, to regulate according to the usage of antient Churches in the best times, that, by a well-tempered government, they may not have power hereafter to corrupt the Church—to undo the kingdom. When they are thus circumscribed, and the public secured from their corruptions, then shall I not grudge them a liberal, plentiful subsistence, else I am sure they can never be given to hospitality. Although the calling be all-glorious within, yet if they have not a large, considerable outward support, they cannot be freed from vulgar contempt. It will likewise be fit, that the flourishing of the Church should hold proportion with the flourishing of the commonwealth wherein it is. If we dwell in houses of cedar, why should they dwell in skins? And I hope I shall never see a good bishop left worse than a parson without a gleab. Certainly, sir, this superintendancy of eminent men, bishops, over divers Churches, is the most primitive, the most spreading, the most lasting government of the Church. Wherefore, whilst we are earnest to take away innovations, let us beware we bring not in the greatest innovation that ever was in England. I do very well know what very many do fervently desire. But let us well bethink ourselves, whether a popular democratical government of the Church (though fit for other places) will be either suitable or acceptable to a regal monarchical government of the state. Every man can say (it is so common and known a truth) that sudden

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and great changes, both in natural and political bodies, have dangerous operations. And give me leave to say, that we cannot presently see to the end of such a consequence, especially in so great a kingdom as this, and where it is so mapped and involved in the laws of it. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, my humble motion is, That we may punish the present offenders—reduce and preserve the calling for better men hereafter. Let us remember, with fresh thankfulness to God, those glorious martyr-bishops, who were burnt for our religion in the times of Popery, who, by their zeal and constancy, upheld and conveyed it down to us.

"We have some good bishops still, who do preach every Lord's Day, and are, therefore, worthy of double honour. They have suffered enough already in the disease, I shall be sorry we should make them suffer more in the remedy."

On the 15th June in the same year, 1641, the Commons went into a grand committee on the bill for the utter abolishing of bishops, &c., Mr. Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) in the chair; when Mr. Thomas, member for Caernarvon, in the hopes that it would create less opposition by reason of no such office appearing in the Gospels, it being, as he said, a mere monkish invention, moved the taking away of deans and chapters out of the Church of England, when Sir Benjamin Rudyerd opposed the motion in the following eloquent appeal, in

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which he discussed the whole question before the House:—

"Mr. Hyde, we are now upon a very great business, so great indeed, that it requires our soundest and saddest consideration; our best judgment for the present, our utmost foresight for the future. But, sir, one thing doth exceedingly trouble me, it turns me round about, it makes my whole reason vertiginous: which is, that so many do believe, against the wisdom of all ages, that now there can be no reformation without destruction; as if every sick body must be presently knocked on the head as past hope of cure. Religion was first and best planted in cities; God did spread his net where most might be caught. Cities had bishops and presbyters: presbyters were the seminaries, out of which were sent labourers by the bishops to propagate and cultivate the Gospel. The clergy then lived wholly upon the free-will offerings and bounty of the people. Afterwards, when kings and states grew to be Christians, the outward settlement of the Church grew up with them; they erected bishopricks, founded cathedral churches, endowed them with large possessions; landlords built parish churches, gleabed them with some portion of land, for which they have still a right of presentation. I do confess that some of our bishops have had ambitious, dangerous aims, and have them still; that, in their government there are very great enormities: but I am not of their opinion who believe that there is an innate ill quality in Episcopacy, like a specifical property, which is a refuge, not a reason. I hope there

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is no original sin in Episcopacy; and though there were, yet may the calling be as well reformed as the person regenerated. Bishops have governed the Church for 1500 years without interruption, and no man will say but that God hath saved souls in all those times under their government. Let them be reduced according to the usage of ancient churches in the best times, so restrained that they may not be able hereafter to shame the calling. I love not those that hate to be reformed; and do, therefore, think them worthy of the more strict, the more close reformation. We have often complained that bishops are too absolute, too singular. Although cathedral churches are now, for the most part, but receptacles for drones and non-residents, yet some good men may be found, or placed there to be assessors with the bishops; to assist them in actions of moment, in causes of importance; there is maintenance already provided for them. If, either in bishopricks or cathedral churches, there be too much, some may be pared off to relieve them that have too little; if yet more may be spared, it may be employed to the setting up of a preaching ministry through the whole kingdom. And until this be done, although we are Christians, yet are we not a Christian state. There are some such places in England as are not in Christendom, the people are so ignorant; they live so without God in the world; for which Parliaments are to answer both to God and man. Let us look to it, for it lieth, like one of the burdens of the Prophet Isaiah, heavy and flat upon Parliaments. I have often seriously

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considered with myself, what strong concurrent motives and causes did meet together in that time, when abbies and monasteries were overthrown. Certainly God's hand was the greatest, for he was most offended. The prophane, superstitious, and abominable idolatry, the filthy, nefandous wickedness of their lives, did stink in God's nostrils, did call down for vengeance, for reformation. A good party of religious men were zealous instruments in that great work; as likewise many covetous, ambitious persons, gaping for fat morsels, did lustily drive it on. But, Mr. Hyde, there was a principal parliamentary motive which did facilitate the rest, for it was propounded in Parliament that the accession of abbey-lands would so enrich the crown, that the people should never be put to pay subsidies again. This was plausible to both Court and country; besides, with the overplus, there should be maintained a standing army of 40,000 men, for a perpetual defence of the kingdom. This was safety at home, terror and honour abroad. Parliament would make all sure. God's part, religion, hath, by his blessing, been reasonably well preserved; but it hath been saved as from fire, for the rest is consumed and vanished. The people have paid subsidies ever since, and we are now in no very good case to pay an army. Let us beware, Mr. Hyde, that we do not look with a worldly, carnal, evil eye upon church-lands; let us clear our sight, search our hearts, that we may have unmixed and sincere ends, without the least thought of saving our own purses. Church-lands will still be fittest to maintain churchmen, by a proportionable

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and orderly distribution. We are very strict and curious to uphold our own property; and there is great reason for it. Are the clergy only a sort of men who have no property at all in that which is called theirs? I am sure they are Englishmen, they are subjects. If we pull down bishopricks, and pull down cathedral churches, in a short time we must be forced to pull down colleges too; for scholars will live and die there as in cells, if there be not considerable preferment to invite them abroad: and the example we are making now will be an easy temptation to the less pressing necessities of future times. This is the next way to bring in barbarism, to make the clergy an unlearned, contemptible vocation, not to be desired but by the basest of the people; and then where shall we find men able to convince an adversary? A clergyman ought to have a far greater proportion to live upon than any other man of an equal condition. He is not bred to multiply threepences; it becomes him not to live mechanically and sordidly; he must be given to hospitality. I do know myself a clergyman, no dignitary, whose books have cost him 1000*l.*, which, when he dies, may be worth to his wife and children about 200*l.* It will be a shameful reproach to so flourishing a kingdom as this to have a poor, beggarly clergy. For my part, I think nothing too much, nothing too good, for a good minister, a good clergyman. They ought least to want who best know how to abound. Burning and shining lights do well deserve to be set in good candlesticks. Mr. Hyde, I am as much for reformation, for paying and maintaining

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religion, as any man whatsoever: but I profess, I am not for innovation, demolition, nor abolition."

This admirable speech of our author Rudyerd is another proof, were any wanting, of his unflinching integrity. The difficulty of his position, with a majority of the House opposed to him, at a period, too, when a difference of opinion was regarded as heretical, treasonable, and damnable, may be conceived; but he was too honourable, too conscientious, to permit any feeling of personal danger to sway his opinions in matters of such vital importance, and he proudly and manfully stood forward as the champion of the ancient, but purified government of the Church. The part taken by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd on this occasion does infinite honour to his memory; and it would be an act of injustice were his biographer not to acknowledge how loud in his praise have been all historians and friends of the Church, who, living at a subsequent period, remote from such scenes of destructive excitement, have leisurely and impartially considered all the bearings of the case against the bishops, deans, and chapters, and who hailed with delight their happy restoration to those ecclesiastical rights so necessary and essential for

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the good government and welfare of the Church.

That admirable author, Southey, in his "Book of the Church," p. 460, when alluding to the able manner in which Dr. Hacket refuted many of the charges brought against the dignified clergy upon his admission to speak before the House in their behalf, pays a high compliment also to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's exertions in favour of the Church, the good qualities of his mind, and his powers of oratory; for not only does he declare him to have been "one of the most able and upright of his time, but one of the most eloquent men in that best age of English eloquence." And certainly, the foregoing speeches (making allowance for the change of style, and the use of a succession of sonorous words, now obsolete), will bear comparison with many of the oratorical effusions of the nineteenth century; whilst they possess the greater merit of conciseness, for they are seldom diffuse, and, generally speaking, they contain neither a word more nor less than is absolutely necessary to convey the spirit of the author's meaning.

Since the preceding pages went to press, several autograph speeches of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd upon various subjects of interest have

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been most obligingly forwarded to the Editor by the Rev. H. Robinson, D. D., Rector of Warley, near Brentwood in Essex.* Among others, three (not mentioned by any of the old chroniclers, nor alluded to in the "Parliamentary History,") which establish his opinion as to the guilt of the Earl of Strafford.

It appears by the journals of the House, that Sir B. Rudyerd was appointed one of the commissioners for taking evidence against this unhappy statesman, whose misfortunes have, by reason of his general acquirements, obtained for him the sympathies of all succeeding generations; so much so, indeed, that it is considered almost heresy at this day even to suggest a doubt, if not of his guilt, at least of the injustice of his sentence, while many even go so far as to assert his entire innocence. According to the definition of treason as it is found in the statute-book, Lord Strafford could not have been legally convicted of that crime; but there was abundant evidence of great guilt in his maladministration of the Irish affairs, as well as in his pernicious counsels to the King; and though the amiableness of his manners towards his

* This circumstance will account for their not having been introduced under their proper dates.

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friends, his affectionate feelings towards his family, his accomplished mind, to which may be added his personal appearance, high birth and fortune, must all have conspired to raise him a host of friends who would unceasingly lament his fate,—it cannot be denied that there was sufficient criminality in his conduct, if not adequately to excuse the part taken by the Parliament, at least to withhold the insertion of his name in the catalogue of mere political victims, of which the history of this country affords too many examples.

The charges against this unfortunate nobleman, who is admitted by Hume and other historians to have been proud, haughty, and severe in his government, are too well known to require any specific mention in these memoirs.

During the debate upon the evidence taken to substantiate the charge of treason, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd thus addressed the House in the month of November:—

"Mr. Speaker,—There is all the reason in the world that we should add as much honour and lustre to our justice as we possibly can. Honour is a multitudinous attestation of opinions by tongues, as a petition may be a multitudinous attestation of desires by hands. We have entertained divers of this kind

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already: there is much more cause we should be indulgent to this, in favour of ourselves.

"The malignity of the Earl of Strafford's treasons hath spread itself over two kingdoms, hath had an ill operation upon a third. Let us not either abridge or obscure our justice. The reasons of it ought to be proportionably and publicly manifested and extended. Some of all the three nations have been present at every hearing. If we go narrower than we have done, and begin to fly the Tylt, it will have no good operation abroad. It will be suspected that we suspect ourselves; and, for my own part, I profess I shall not be so confident as I have been. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, my humble motion is, that we may desire a conference with the Lords about our reply to the Earl of Strafford's counsel, that so we may give the Lords and the world a full, plenary satisfaction."

Our author Rudyerd, the advocate of mercy, lenity, and moderation, upon almost every occasion, seems, contrary to his general practice, to have pronounced a decided though, no doubt, conscientious opinion of Lord Strafford's guilt in a tone of unrelenting severity; the force of which opinion does not appear to suffer the slightest diminution when he addressed the House at a subsequent period, concerning the reply to the Earl's counsel, as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker,—I shall be very sorry that so

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good and so enjoined a precept should be inverted upon this Parliament, as that we should be slow to hear—swift to speak. It is the office of a judge to hear and to determine: but first fully to hear, and then justly to determine. Although we hear nothing but falsehood from the Earl of Strafford's counsel, yet I own that will be to our advantage. For truth best sets off falsehood: the counterposition gives it a brighter lustre. Let us not darken our justice, which is so well able to endure the light. We have hitherto gone along with the Lords in the proceeding of this cause; if now we sever from them, we may lose our end, and begin dangerous distractions, especially in such a conjuncture of time as this, so ripened for ruin. The King hath yet been at every hearing, and is likely to be at the rest, which will very much advance or prejudice our bill. The House of Commons hath never done any remarkable thing without the Peers (I speak it for caution, not for diminution); but with them there have been many memorable examples made, fit for us to follow, and we may add more to our posterity, if we be not too confident—too secure. Let us beware, Mr. Speaker, that we do not suffer shipwreck in the storm."

In the following April, an event occurred which put an end to every hope of saving this unfortunate nobleman, by reason of the profound sensation and innate conviction of his guilt which it created in the minds of the members of both Houses of Parliament. It will

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at once be perceived that allusion is here made to the singular discovery of the notes or minutes of the proceedings of the Privy Council, brought to light in so dishonourable and flagitious a manner by that highly talented but fanatical individual, Sir Harry Vane the younger. The conduct of this arch republican (as he was not inaptly termed) upon the memorable occasion in question, has cast an eternal stigma on his ancient name, and the fair fame which his extraordinary abilities must otherwise have procured for him in after times. As to the visionary notions upon government which he and the celebrated author of "Oceana" entertained, however unsuited to the position, thoughts, habits, and prejudices of an old country, still, as the sincere conviction of his mind, his opinions would have been entitled to respect, particularly when put forward with the benign expectation of bettering the condition of the human species, at least, of his fellow-countrymen, of which no doubt can be entertained, when we take into consideration his total disregard of the two great springs of human action, wealth and honours; the former of which he applied in furtherance of his objects, while he spurned the latter as inconsisent with the principles he had imbibed from

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constant reflection upon the miseries arising, really, from misgovernment, though, with an ill-judged temerity, he deemed them inseparable from monarchical rule. The opponents of government, be it good or bad, are sure, from the natural perverseness of mankind, to find some panegyrists in due season to uphold their hypotheses. Thus Sir Harry Vane's memory has been brilliantly burnished by a recent publication, of great merit as to composition, though, if all that the learned author asserts were facts instead of matter of well-expressed comment and individual opinion, Sir Harry Vane ought to be regarded by the world as one of its greatest political and religious martyrs. His conduct, however, in the case of Lord Strafford, betrayed other feelings than those which should be engendered by the religion of Christianity; his reference to Mr. Pym for advice, gives proof of want of confidence in that judgment he so much vaunted; while the action itself must ever defy the efforts of his warmest advocate in attempting an excuse. This act of treachery, the breach of all gentlemanly confidence which Sir Harry Vane perpetrated when entrusted by his father with the keys of his study, for a particular purpose, and perfidiously availed himself of the

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opportunity to abstract those notes, which his parent, as Secretary to the Privy Council, had sworn solemnly to keep secret from all the world, and which, as a man of honour, it was a son's duty to have held sacred, even from the pollution of his own eyes, is thus described by Mr. Whitlocke: — "Secretary Vane, being out of town, sent a letter to his son, Sir Henry Vane the younger, then in London, with the key of his study, for his son to look in his cabinet for some papers there, to send to his father. The son, looking over many papers, among them lighted upon these notes; which being of so great concernment to the public, and declaring so much against the Earl of Strafford, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them. He shewed them to Mr. Pym, who urged him, and prevailed with him that they might be made use of in the evidence against the Earl of Strafford, as being most material, and of great consequence in relation to that business." Thus, then, it is plain, from Mr. Pym's own expressions, that the charge of treason brought against the Earl of Strafford at least required the additional evidence of this ill-gotten document, the contents of which (always supposing its authenticity, which, from a subsequent singular incident,

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there is every reason to credit,) were calculated to remove all doubts from the minds of the wavering, who were far too numerous at that moment to please the grandees of the faction, as Mr. Pym and his party were then styled, for it is exceedingly doubtful whether a majority of the House could then have been obtained to vote away his life, notwithstanding that they acknowledged his high crimes and misdemeanours.

The paper in question was headed, "No Danger of a War with Scotland, if Offensive, not Defensive." Then followed a conversation between the King, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Earl of Strafford), Archbishop Laud, and Lord Cottington, who was at that time the colleague of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd as Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries—the names of the several parties appearing under initials.

K. C.—"How can we undertake an offensive war if we have no more money?"

L. L. Ir.—"Borrow of the city 100,000*l.*; go on vigorously to levy ship-money. Your Majesty having tried the affection of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rule of government, and to do what power will admit. Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man: and you have an army in Ireland that

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you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience: for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months."

L. Arch.—"You have tried all ways, and have always been denied; it is now lawful to take it by force."

L. Cot.—"Leagues abroad then may be made for the defence of the kingdom: the lower House are weary of the King and Church: all ways shall be just to raise money by, in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawful."

L. Arch.—"For an offensive, not any defensive war."

L. L. Ir.—"The town is full of Lords, put the commission of array on foot; and if any of them stir we will make them smart."

The effect of the foregoing intelligence was electrical; nor can it cause surprise even at this period. The reply of Strafford, "That it were hard measure for opinions and discourses of privy counsellors, in a debate in council, to be prosecuted under the notion of treason" (however good as a technical objection to the reception of the evidence, if, under similar circumstances, a like defence were offered at the present day), was no answer to the unquestionably treasonable and wicked advice tendered to the King in his capacity of a state minister; and as to his subsequent denial of the genuineness of the minutes,

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it can only be regarded as a means adopted to escape the penalty attached to so grave an offence.

On the same day, April 10, a bill was brought in for the attainder of Thomas Earl of Strafford for high treason, which was read a first time. And on the second reading of the same, four days after, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd again addressed the House as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker,—I was not in the House at the first reading of this bill, although I staid here till it was past six o'clock. There hath not been in all this Parliament any business that was little but we could swell it up till it became a great one before we left it. Let us take heed we do not make this which is the greatest a little one indeed.

"We have wrapt up the three quarters-head cause of the Earl of Strafford in a bill, and are now in preparation to go up with it to the Lords. I am afraid this bill will prove but *brutum fulmen*—a lost blow. For I believe (and I am bound to speak what I think) the Lords will not pass it upon the notes they have taken already, and then the Earl of Strafford is acquitted of all. We may please ourselves, that we may demand further judgment, which will breed a contestation, which will make a division, which will bring a confusion; and this by Parliament.

"Justice must be done justly; it is an outward public act, and, therefore, ought to give a fair satisfaction to the world. But, principally, it is an inward private conclusion of the conscience to every man that

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hath a hand in it. A sentence of death rightly given is justice; if otherwise, it is murder, and to a doubting conscience it is the same, which unrepented, is no less than damnation; for blood is a crying sin.

"I do believe that the Earl of Strafford is as wicked, a flagitious, facinorous malefactor, as was ever brought before a Parliament: but we find withal that he is *ingenissimi nequam, et malo publico facundus*— full of artificial delusions. Therefore, it behoves us to be the more exact in wiping off his deceitful paintings, that he may appear to the world in his own foulness beyond all contradiction, which we cannot so well do unless we return to the way we were in, notwithstanding the great disadvantages of time and money.

"Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, my humble motion is, 'That we may desire a present conference with the Lords for an agreement and settlement in that course.' I pray God direct us in the best way, for this kingdom had never more need of his help than at this instant."

Mr. Whitlocke having the same day reported to the House that the Lords had not exactly determined how the trial should proceed, the Commons on the following day, the 16th of April, "Resolved that it is sufficiently proved, that Thomas Earl of Strafford hath endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of these realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law." On the 19th they voted

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him guilty of treason, and on the 21st they passed the bill of attainder by a majority of 204 against 59. This bill was not passed altogether without remonstrance, for the Lord Digby made a most eloquent appeal to the House to spare his life; and though he said, "I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his whereof God hath given him the use, but the devil the application." And further, "in a word, I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. Yet (he continued) do I, before God, discharge myself, to the utmost of my power, and with a clear conscience, wash my hands of that man's guilt by the solemn protestation that my vote goes not to the taking away of the Earl of Strafford's life."

As Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's name does not appear among the fifty-nine members who voted in the minority, it is clear he must have coincided with the general view of the House as to the propriety of shedding this great man's blood, though as far as language is concerned he does not in his speeches upon this question offer a stronger

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opinion of his guilt than is contained in the above extract from Lord Digby's speech.

The fate of the unfortunate object of these discussions, and the noble and courageous manner in which he met his death upon the scaffold, are matters of history too well known in all its details to require further comment. The circumstance alluded to as the singular event which occurred shortly after the finding of the notes which were so peculiarly instrumental to the conviction of Lord Strafford, and by which their authenticity was made evident, was no less than their abstraction, in a most mysterious manner, from among the papers of the committee, within a day or two of their having been laid before the House by Sir Harry Vane, Junior, and the fact of every member having been called upon solemnly to protest that he was no party to the act, though a copy of them was afterwards discovered at the battle of Naseby, when the King's cabinet was taken, in the handwriting of Lord Digby; which event cleared Mr. Whitlocke, the chairman of the committee, from every imputation, and threw the onus upon his lordship as the conveyor of that document to the King.

To pursue the outline of the general events of that period, it must be observed, that the Parliament now sent up many bills to the

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King, and, taking advantage of the distractions of the country, they indecently pressed for his assent to all before he had time even to make himself acquainted with their contents. Upon giving his assent to the bill for the abolition of the Star Chamber, &c., on the 5th of June, Charles told them "they ought not to be discontented with what he had done in that Parliament, when they considered the alteration in the judges' patents; the bounding the forests, not according to his right, but according to the late customs; his free giving up, not the taking away, of ship-money; his having established by Act of Parliament the property of the subject in tonnage and poundage; the Act for triennial Parliaments; the Act for securing the monies advanced for disbanding the armies, called the Poll Tax; the free course of justice against delinquents; the execution of the laws against papists." Then, after giving his assent to the abolition of the Star Chamber and an Act for the repeal of part of the first of Elizabeth concerning commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, he informed both Houses of his desire that they would advise with him as to the publication of a manifesto in favour of his nephew, the Elector Palatine (then in England), eldest son of the Princess Elizabeth, and to give proper instruc-

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tions to his ambassador to treat with the Emperor, at the Diet of Ratisbon, for the restitution of the Palatinate. The manifesto having been read, and a copy of it sent to the Commons, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd opened the debate by the following speech, which is taken from the original edition printed by Francis Constable, 1641:—

"Mr. Speaker,—This great affair of the Palatinate concerns this kingdom in nature, in honour, in reason of state, in religion. We all know how near in blood the Prince Elector is to his Majesty. Many of us here know what solemn protestation hath been made in this place for the recovery of the Palatinate, by which we are bound in honour to pursue it with our best assistance. God hath so framed the powers of man, and so ordered the course of things in this world, as that in all actions right reason and true religion may well hold and go a great way together. If we consider religion according to reason of state, we shall find that Christendom divides itself into two sides; with the Pope, against the Pope. His Majesty is the greatest King of the religion,* and, therefore, fittest to be the head of that party which will add a greater greatness to him than can be gotten any other way. The means of it are, first, to preserve religion sound and entire within his own kingdoms at home;

* "The religion" is the term which at this period was invariably applied to Protestantism.

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next, to unite the homogeneal parts of it, pieces of the same, together by alliances, and by confederations abroad. The good effect of this German match was lost by the ill counsels of those times: it will be an honour to us to repair it by better. The restoring the Prince Elector to his territories and dignity will restore religion there, will strengthen it, nay, increase it further, in Germany; which consideration is of a great and vast consequence, proportionable to the greatness and vastness of that country. It will likewise refresh and comfort the needful heart of that most noble, virtuous, and magnanimously suffering Queen of Bohemia, his Majesty's sister, his Highness's mother, who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this House, by this kingdom. This is a fit conjuncture of time to begin it in, whilst the King of Spain hath so much to do of his own, that he is not able to afford his usual aids to the Emperor, which probably may induce the Emperor to abate of former resolutions. That which is now propounded is only a manifest to express and declare our zeal and heartiness to the cause, thereby to give it countenance and reputation in the present Diet at Ratisbon. Reputation in matters of state doth many times prevail as much as substance. His Majesty's father, of blessed memory, and himself have for many years mediated and treated with the successive Emperors by all fair and amicable ways. They have been deluded, they have been neglected. It behoves us, Mr. Speaker, to be Englishly sensible of the injustice—of the indignity. Wherefore, my humble motion is, 'That the House will be pleased

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presently to name a select committee to compose a declaration suitable to the importance of the cause.' "

" But," says the " Parliamentary History," " the further consideration of this manifesto was deferred till the 7th of July," when, in a committee of the whole House, Mr. Whitlock in the chair, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd again addressed the House upon the same subject, as follows :—

" Mr. Whitlock,—If we may do the Prince Elector good by our good word, I hope we shall not stick to afford it him. A word spoken in due season is worth more than gold and silver at another time.

" His Majesty's ambassador is now at the Diet at Ratisbon, where the Emperor and other Princes are by friendly treaties endeavouring to make up the breaches of Germany. If this opportunity be omitted his Highness's affairs will be exceedingly cast behind. It is true that our treaties heretofore have not been prosperous, the reason hath been because of the unhappy distance between the King and his people, which brought a disvalue upon this kingdom abroad. But now, when the world shall take notice of the good understanding between his Majesty and his subjects, by an earnest and solemn joining of the whole Parliament with his Majesty's declaration, the propositions coming from hence will carry with them more weight, more authority, which is the way to redeem our engagement at an easie rate, to save those great charges which some do so much fear.

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"If we should be backward in this great work, we shall cancel the obligations of nature, of honour, of reason of state, of religion, which bind us to it.

"Wherefore, Mr. Whitlock, my humble motion is, 'That we may draw up a short and sound manifest, to wait upon and affirm the King's declaration to be still managed by advice of Parliament,' which will be safe for ourselves, and more powerful and effectual for the Prince Elector."

On the 9th of July, 1641, Mr. Denzil Holles made a speech to the Lords concerning the settling of the Queen of Bohemia and her Electoral family in their rights and inheritance with restitution for their sufferings. And on the same day Sir Benjamin Rudyerd delivered a message from his Majesty to the Commons concerning the Queen-mother, viz. "That his Majesty desired her departure, if monies could be obtained for sending her away; and that less than 10,000*l.* would not suffice for that purpose." Which sum the Commons granted out of the Poll-money; and accordingly, in the August following, Mary de Medicis, Queen-Dowager of France, left the country accompanied by the Earl of Arundel. She died soon after in exile at Cologne, to the eternal disgrace of the Great Cardinal, who then governing France with an iron hand (her son, Louis XIII., being a mere cipher), owed all his rapid progress to supreme

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power entirely to her early patronage. On the 12th of July, both Houses waited on the King to declare their concurrence in the manifesto in favour of the Palatinate, and recommended that it should be sent to the Scotch Parliament for its approval, to give it weight at the Diet as expressive of the unanimous feeling of the empire. From this period until the King's journey into Scotland, on the 10th of August, the impeachment of the bishops, matters of religion, the revival of old charges, long dormant, relating to the army plot, &c., the conversion of the people by the Capucin Friars belonging to the Queen at Denmark House, and the disbanding of the army, were the principal topics of debate in the Houses of Parliament. The Queen proposed going to Spa for the benefit of her health; but, yielding to the request of Parliament, she postponed her journey. For which, in thankfulness to her Majesty, "they took into consideration the bill which they had had long before them for settling the Queen's jointure." Hansard's "Parliamentary History" is silent as to the result of their deliberations upon this subject; indeed, no allusion is made to any debate beyond the preceding quotation from vol. ii. p. 890. The following speech, however, made by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd upon that occa-

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sion, taken from the MS. copy in the Harleian Collection, proves that the question was debated:—

"Mr. Speaker,—God hath blessed the Queen's Majesty with a blessed and hopeful progeny already, whereby she hath relieved and fortified this kingdom, which may put us in mind in a fit time to provide according to their birth and interest. She is the daughter of a great and famous king; she is the wife of another king which to us includes all expressions. But in one thing, Mr. Speaker, her Majesty is singular, in that she is the mother to the greatest prince that hath been born amongst us these hundred years, which cannot but work a tenderness in us. The Queen likewise may be another instrument of happiness to us, in her good attention to Parliaments, by a good handsel in this, and I believe we shall see good effects of it, for it nearly and wisely concerns her Majesty, even in all the relations that are so dear to her, to contribute her best assistance to uphold the government and greatness of the kingdom. By which means, also, the King will be better enabled to make a further enlargement of his bounty towards her in some degree proportionable. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, it will become this House to shew our dutifulness in passing this bill."

On the 27th of August both Houses agreed to a recess from the 8th of September to the 20th of October in consequence of the increase of the plague in London, and the next day

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the Commons "took into consideration the affair of the French and Spanish ambassadors hiring forces from the disbanded Irish army," when Sir Benjamin Rudyerd made the following speech:—

"Mr. Speaker,—This is a business of great consequence, and therefore requires a well-advised resolution. I will put France and Spain together, and take them both before me; because the reasons will serve the one and the other, as they stand in relation to us. We are so bounded by the nature of our situation, that we are not so proper to extend ourselves upon the firm land as our neighbours; our aptitude is rather to balance; which, being rightly used, may make the King the great arbiter of all the affairs of Christendom, by assisting, withholding, or opposing. Henry VIII. is an example of this; he was sometimes on the side of the Emperor, other times of the French army, according as he saw either side of the scales to weigh heavier or lighter. Some might think this to be inconstancy in him; but it was certainly out of a true and peculiar understanding of his power. By the present state of Christendom it is apparent that the House of Austria begins to diminish, as in Spain, so consequently in Germany: that the French do swell and enlarge themselves; and, if they grow and hold, they will be to us only Spain nearer hand.

"Alliances do serve well to make up a present breach, or mutually to strengthen those states who have the same ends; but politick bodies have no

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natural affections; they are guided by particular interests; and beyond that are not to be trusted.

"Although it may be good policy to breed a militia at the charge of other states abroad for our own use and occasions at home, yet that ought rather to be done amongst friends of the same way; and so the Low Countries have been an academy to us.

"His Majesty hath now an ambassador treating with the Emperor about the Palatinate. If we send away our men, it will so damp and discountenance the affairs of the Prince Elector, that the world will believe we never had, nor ever shall have, any intentions to assist him at all. I have observed for divers years, that England is not so well peopled but we do want workfolks to bring in the harvest: our disbanded soldiers will not dislike that kind of work: and if they be speedily dissolved, that employment will entertain them for the present, and inure them to labour hereafter.

"Upon these considerations, Mr. Speaker, I cannot give my advice to add more strength to France by weakening both ourselves and our friends.

"As for sending the Irish into Spain, truly, sir, I have been long of opinion that it was never fit to suffer the Irish to be promiscuously made soldiers abroad, because it may make them able to trouble this state when they come home. Their intelligence and practice with the princes whom they shall serve may prove dangerous to that kingdom of Ireland. They may more profitably be employed about husbandry, whereof that kingdom hath great need. Be-

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sides, it will be exceedingly prejudicial to us and to our religion, if the Spaniards should prevail against the Portuguese.

"It were better for us he should be broken into lesser pieces—his power shivered. If the King of Portugal had desired the Irish soldiers, I should rather have given my vote for him than for the King of Spain, because it would keep the balance more even. Spain hath had too much of our assistance and connivance heretofore: I am sure it lost us the Palatinate. Now that it has come to our turn to advise, I hope we shall not do over other men's faults again.

"If the present government of Ireland be not able to restrain their disordered people, there is a noble Lord already designed to that charge, who, by his knowledge in martial affairs, and his other great abilities, will be, no doubt, abundantly capable to reduce them to a due obedience.

"Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, upon the whole matter, my opinion is, that we should not be forward to spend our men, but rather to preserve and husband them for our own use and employments—for our friends—for our religion."

It would be idle to look for any moderate sentiments upon subjects of religious faith at the period in question. Whatever divisions or subdivisions of sects then existed, the two great enemies were the Catholic and the Protestant, the one diametrically opposed to the other. The dissenters, however, from the Protestant

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Established Church, were now making rapid strides towards the conversion of the people and the overthrow of Church government; and in an equal ratio with their success did their hatred of Papistical doctrines increase,—if we except the Independents, then in their infancy, whose religious notions were as absurd as their early dissemination of the principle of universal toleration was honourable to them. Under these circumstances, we cannot feel surprise at the course pursued by the House of Commons, which was strongly affected by the puritanical feeling so generally pervading the country. Upon the King's return from Scotland, which he left, as he declared, in perfect quiet, and on the most affectionate terms with his northern subjects, he was much disappointed to find so great a state of excitement in England, where, as he well observed, all his yielding had been to so little purpose. On the 3d December, both Houses were informed that the Irish Papists, who, in the previous month, had broken out into open rebellion, had presented a remonstrance for peace, the terms of which were "To have the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary," &c.; upon which question Sir Benjamin Rudyerd spoke as follows:—

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"Mr. Speaker,—Peradventure I could have wished that toleration of religion had not at this time come in question; yet now that it is brought on the stage, I am brought to the stake. When religion is so nearly concerned, I love not to take any civil or politick respects into consideration: reasons of state have almost eaten up all the laws and religion of Christendom.

"I have often heard it discoursed whether we should make religion an argument of any of our undertakings abroad. Herein the wiser sort have been very nice and tender, believing that the over-number of Papists would overwhelm us; yet I have been long of opinion that our attempts and assistance have so often miscarried, because we have not boldly and publickly avowed our religion. It may be God, who can conquer as well with few as with many, thinks we are too many. Shall the Irish now make their religion the cause of their rebellion?—and shall we be ashamed or afraid to maintain our religion in reducing them to their duty and obedience? God will not honour them who do not honour him. Let us remember the exhortation in the Chronicles,—'Why transgress ye the commands of God, so that ye cannot prosper?' This is a great transgression to shrink from God in his truth.

"When we deny the Irish a toleration, we do not withdraw the cares and favours they have heretofore enjoyed,—greater, I am sure, than they would afford us if we were in their power. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, let us uphold our religion, and trust God with the success."

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Hansard's "Parliamentary History" does not quote any other speech upon this debate. It says only, it was resolved by both Lords and Commons, "That they would never give consent to any toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland or any other of his Majesty's dominions."

On the question of relief to the English who had been thrust out of Ireland during the rebellion, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd made the following speech, which is taken from a book of tracts in the King's collection in the British Museum, and is headed, "A speech concerning a contribution for the poore, naked, hunger-starved English, sent out of Ireland into England."

"Mr. Speaker,—This day is appointed for a charitable work—a work of bowels and compassion. I pray God we may never have the like occasion to move—to stir up our charity. These miserable people are made so because of their religion. He that will not suffer for his religion is not worthy to be saved by it; and he is unworthy to enjoy it that will not relieve those that suffer for it. I did know but the last year here in England, some (and they no Papists) who were resolved to make Ireland their retreat as the safer kingdom of the two.

"We now see a great, a dismal change. God knows whose turn shall be next: it is wrapped up in

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His Providence. That which happens to one country may happen to any. Fear and shame come upon all, though guided by a certain hand. The right way to make a man truly sensible of another's calamity, is to think himself into the same case and condition, and then to do as he would be done unto. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, let our gift be a matter of bounty, not of covetousness, that it may abound to our account in the day of reckoning. 'He that sows plentifully shall,' &c. I am sure, he that lends to the Lord hath the best security, and cannot be a loser."

Shortly after this period, the Commons brought forward their celebrated declaration for putting the kingdom into a state of defence, in which they desired the Lords to join them, that it might be dispersed, with the sanction of both Houses, throughout the kingdom. The Declaration was aimed almost exclusively against the Papists, who, according to the document itself, "were plotting the confusion of the state and government, the subversion of the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, and a division of the body of the commonwealth from the head thereof; to the end that they might the better effect their devilish and bloody purposes, for the utter destruction of the true reformed religion, and the professors of the same, to bring the kingdom into the like miserable condition with that of Ireland," &c. Then, after going through

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all the charges which were laid upon the shoulders of the Roman Catholics, such as obtaining the accusation of treason against the members of both Houses, being in arms for the King, &c., they declare that, as good watchmen for the welfare of the King, Church, and State, the Lords and Commons hold it advisable to put themselves into a posture of defence, to provide arms, &c., to defend their several counties from domestic insurrections or foreign invasions; that the sheriffs, &c., take care that their magazines of powder, arms, and other ammunition, be furnished; cause strong guards to be set for their security, as well as for the apprehending of suspected persons, &c.

In the course of the debates upon this question, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd delivered his opinion as follows:—*

"Mr. Speaker,—In my opinion it is requisite we should publish a declaration, because there are so many depravers of this Parliament.

"First, the Papists, who never like any Parliament, but this worst of all; likewise the number of delinquents who are to be punished by this Parliament; and the loose libertines who would not be

* Taken from the original, in the possession of Dr. Robinson of Warley, in Essex.

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governed either by law or Parliament. All these must needs amount unto a multitude.

"Whatsoever they traduce, yet, by God's assistance, we have done great things this Parliament—things of the first magnitude. We have vindicated the liberty of our persons—the freedom of our estates. We have gotten, by the King's grace and favour, a triennial—a perpetual Parliament, wherein all other remedies and liberties are included.

"We have done something too for religion. I reckon that last, because we have done least in it. I am sorry to speak it, but it is true, that at this time there is a great dissolution in Church matters; but I hope the pious endeavours, and prudent care, of this House, will shortly set them in a quiet and a peaceable way.

"Truly, sir, it goes hard with a Parliament when it is put to make an apology for itself, because apologies are commonly accounted suspicious; but the malignity and machinations of these times have enforced it—have made it necessary. I confess it troubles me that the honour of this House should suffer the least suspension or diminution: let it therefore provoke us, Mr. Speaker, to make our future acts and actions to be a real, continual, indisputable declaration, for then we shall never need another.

"As for this declaration, my vote goes along in general with the narrative historical part of it; but for the prophetical part, to foresee the whole work of this Parliament to come, and to bind it up by anticipation and engagement of votes beforehand, for aught

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I know, sir, we have no such custom. Further, I humbly desire the House to take into consideration, that if we do fail in performing some things which we promise and the world will expect, whether we shall not lose more by non-performance of those few than we shall get by all the rest of the declaration.

In any of my doubts I shall be glad to be settled by better judgments."

Soon after these events, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd evidently took alarm at the violent measures of the more influential members. He saw a spirit of determined opposition to all the institutions of the country; and, possibly, he may have doubted the sincerity of those with whom he had acted conscientiously when calling loudly for the redress of grievances which pressed heavily on all classes of the community. But these had mostly been redressed by the monarch, and with a precipitancy which was as ill-judged as had been his former haughty opposition to the petitions of the people. The Parliament, in fact, saw that they had but to ask, and they should receive; to knock, and *all* would be opened to them. This state of things engendered desires which, at any previous period of the history of the country, would have been regarded as visionary and chimerical. The love of change and abolition superseded the justice of amending or reforming

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that which was worthy in its institution, but had become vicious and corrupt in its administration. Thus had they successfully sapped all the sacred foundations of the kingdom; and, under colour of disabling bishops from holding civil offices, they surreptitiously introduced clauses in the bill which should operate as an entire abolition of that sacred office; and though this was seen through and averted for the moment, the Commons grew bolder by success, and soon accomplished their aim,—an extraordinary proceeding on the part of those who held so much to the spirit of holy writ, because all the writings of the Apostles so clearly, *both in letter and in spirit,* point to bishops as the fit and proper governors of the discipline of the Church. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, however, in all these violent measures, had the honour to vote with the minority. His zeal was tempered with moderation; and, no doubt, the lessons he endeavoured to inculcate in others were not without effect upon his own actions. He had frequently observed, that "success enlarged men's thoughts, or bred thoughts in those who never thought before;" and the result of the political agitation of that period clearly demonstrated the validity of his judgment. Seeing through the clouds which

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were now gathering over the monarchy, he endeavoured to bring about an accommodation with the King; and for this purpose, he addressed the house in the following short but pithy speech, which Rushworth and the old collectors style the vertical point.

"Mr. Speaker,—His Majesty hath clearly and freely put himself into the hands of this Parliament; and, I presume, there is not a man in this house but feels himself advanced in this high trust; but if he prosper no better in our hands than he hath done in theirs who have hitherto had the handling of his affairs, we shall for ever make ourselves unworthy of so gracious a confidence.

"I have often thought and said, that it must be some great extremity that would recover and rectify this state; and when that extremity did come, it would be a great hazard whether it might prove a remedy or ruin. We are now, Mr. Speaker, upon that vertical point, and therefore it is no time to palliate; for this will but foment and hasten our own undoing."

But the Parliament had gone too far to recede. The situation of the monarch was beyond measure perplexing: his actions were watched with a lynx-eyed scrutiny; his prerogatives daily and hourly invaded; all the institutions of the country (which, according to the ideas generated by the system of education in which he had

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been brought up, seemed to his mind so absolutely essential to the preservation of monarchy) had been attacked, and had either fallen, or were tottering under the axe of political excitement, which was daily increasing in fervency and enthusiasm, by reason of the cunning admixture of religious prejudice with political bias. When the King gave his assent to the Bill which declared, "that Parliament should not be dissolved but by an act of Parliament, nor prorogued nor adjourned but by their own consent," he may be said to have signed his own death-warrant; for, whatever *coup de main* he may have contemplated in the possible event of a bad return for so much confidence on his part towards the Parliament, the exercise of a common-sense understanding must have pointed out to him the difficulty, under any circumstances, of arriving at the dissolution of that power which he had himself called into operation. Nothing in short but a complete conquest of the kingdom, and the subsequent exercise of unheard-of tyrannies, could have forced a majority of the House of Commons to consent to the annihilation of its power, and with it their individual safety. The charge against the King of want of sincerity, though it were true, is fully met by the act in question, for if the Parliament had not enter-

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tained sinister motives, they had the means in their own hands by that very act of curbing the progress of revolution and republicanism, and of averting the civil war which shortly afterwards spread ruin and desolation over the land. It appears, however, that the appetite for change is ever most insatiable, and thus from humble suitors for redress of grievances, the Commons became authoritative dictators,—not limiting the extent of change necessary to ensure the liberty and happiness of the people by a general measure, founded on the pure doctrine of the positive rights of man, to which, under such straits, the King no doubt would have assented; but each day adding fresh demands to their already numerous propositions, which even the humiliated monarch could not brook. It is not then extraordinary that the King should have thrown himself into the arms of those who were weary, as he was himself, of words, and who, with a devoted loyalty and attachment to his person, swore to wager life and fortune to extricate him from the thraldom of his enemies, and restore to him some portion of that liberty which his opponents so loudly claimed for themselves. Had there been the slightest yielding on their part, the advantages gained by the Commons (for it cannot be denied that they reformed many

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monstrous abuses) would have been permanent, and every succeeding age would have advanced the progress of liberty and moral civilisation; but obtained, as they were, by violence, and spotted with the very blood of the donor, it was not probable that such evidence of Charles's coercion should have been permitted by his legitimate successor to remain in the Statute-book. Thus the many good laws passed, and the grievances redressed, were but of temporary benefit to the people, for a few only were subsequently confirmed, and much that was iniquitous remained to be reformed until almost within our own times.

The Queen had already left the country from the apprehension of danger to her person, and the King had removed to York, declaring he was not safe in London.

The differences between the King and the Parliament had now arrived at such a pitch that on the 2d June, 1642, the Parliament sent an humble petition and desire to his Majesty with nineteen propositions, as the most necessary and effectual means of removing the jealousies and differences which had unhappily fallen between him and his people, &c.

To these propositions his Majesty returned for answer:—"That their professions of peace,

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joined to such propositions, did but appear a mockery and scorn, the demands being such as, consistent with his station, he could not concur in," &c. Things, therefore, now proceeding to extremities, the Parliament prepared to raise an army, when, on the 9th of July following, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd made the following pathetic speech and forcible appeal to induce the House to an accommodation with the King :—

" Mr. Speaker,—In the way we are now, we have gone as far as words can carry us ; we have voted our own rights and the King's duty. No doubt there is a relative duty between king and subjects, obedience from a subject to a king, protection from a king to his people. The present unhappy distance between his Majesty and the Parliament makes the whole kingdom stand amazed in a fearful expectation of dismal calamities to fall upon it. It deeply and considerably concerns this House to compose and settle these threatening and ruining destructions. Mr. Speaker, I am touched—I am pierced with an apprehension of the honour of the House and success of this Parliament. The best way to give a stop to these desperate, imminent mischiefs is to make a fair way for the King's return hither; it will likewise give best satisfaction to the people, and be our best justification. Mr. Speaker, that we may better consider the condition we are now in, let us set ourselves three years back. If any man then could credibly have told us

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that within three years the Queen shall be gone out of England into the Low Countries for any cause whatsoever; the King shall remove from his Parliament, from London to York, declaring himself not to be safe here; that there shall be a total rebellion in Ireland; such discords and distempers both in Church and State here as we now find,—certainly we should have trembled at the thought of it: wherefore it is fit we should be sensible now we are in it. On the other side, if any man could have credibly told us that within three years we shall have a Parliament, it would have been good news; that ship-money should have been taken away by act of Parliament, the reasons and grounds of it so rooted out as that neither it, nor any thing like it, can ever grow up again; that monopolies, the High Commission Court, the Star Chamber, the bishops' votes, shall be taken away; the council-table regulated and restrained, the forests bounded and limited; that we should have triennial parliaments; and more than that, a perpetual parliament, which none shall have power to dissolve without yourselves,—we should have thought this a dream of happiness; yet we are now in the real possession of it; we do not enjoy it, although his Majesty has promised and published he will make all this good to us. There is more security offered even in this last answer of the King's, by removing the personal votes of the Popish lords, by the better education of the Papists' children, and by supplying the laws against recusants; besides what else may be enlarged and improved by a select committee of both Houses named for that pur-

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pose. Wherefore, sir, let us beware that we do not contend for such a hazardous, unsafe security as may endanger the loss of what we have already. Let us not think that we have nothing because we have not all we desire; and though we had, yet we cannot make a mathematical security; all human caution is susceptible of corruption and failing; God's providence will not be bound, success must be His. He that observes the wind and rain will neither sow nor reap; if he do nothing until he can secure the weather, he shall have but an ill harvest. Mr. Speaker, it now behoves us to call up all the wisdom we have about us, for we are at the very brink of confusion and combustion; if blood begin once to touch blood, we shall presently fall into a certain misery, and must attend an uncertain success, God knows when, and God knows what. Every man here is bound in conscience to employ his uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of blood. Blood is a crying sin, it pollutes a land; let us save our liberties and our estates, as we may save our souls too. Now I have clearly delivered my own conscience, I leave every man freely to his."

The foregoing speech is taken from the original edition, printed at London, July 17th, 1642, for R. Thrale. The "Parliamentary History," vol. ii. p. 1416, says,—"This speech was so agreeable to the King that it was reprinted at York by Stephen Bulkley, and published there the week following for general distribution."

But the voice of moderation was stifled,

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though every praise is due to the boldness and loyal sincerity of Rudyerd in thus standing forward as the advocate of conciliation between the monarch and the Parliament, particularly at a period when not only his arguments to that effect were distasteful to the great majority of the House, but even his advocacy of the King's cause was attended with personal danger to himself. After a long debate, the Commons resolved, "That an army shall be forthwith raised for the safety of the King's person, defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who had obeyed their orders and commands, and for preserving the true religion, the laws, liberties, and peace of the kingdom." And it was further resolved, "That a petition be sent to the King to prevent a civil war, and that the Earl of Holland, &c., repair forthwith to Beverley to present it to his Majesty."

In page 36 of "Heath Chronicles," anno 1642, 2d edition, published 1676, the following anecdote is related of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd:— "Though the Parliament was intent on the business of levying arms, yet several patriots of both houses did what they could to persuade to an accommodation, amongst whom Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was one of the chief, who all along warned them of the miseries of a civil

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war, and what a shame it would be to them in after times, and consequently to all Parliaments, if, when the King had condescended so far, they should proceed to the effusion of blood upon so unnecessary a quarrel. He died soon after the first blood was drawn, and that speech of his on his death-bed is very remarkable. 'Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden (the grandees of the then faction) told me,' saith Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, 'that they thought the King so ill beloved by his subjects, that he would never be able to raise an army to oppose them, which mistake of theirs cost many thousand lives.'"

And in Echard's "History of England," vol. ii. p. 326, car. 18, in allusion to the foregoing speech, the same anecdote is repeated in nearly similar terms. Echard says,—"This is the last speech we find made by this great man, who died soon after the first blood was drawn; and his words upon his death-bed are remarkable: that Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden both told him that they thought the King so ill beloved by his subjects, that he could never be able to raise an army to oppose them. A fatal mistake of theirs and others of their party, which cost the lives of many thousands in the kingdom."

Both these statements are, however, incorrect,

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for Sir Benjamin Rudyerd lived many years after the period in question, though no doubt his advocacy of conciliatory measures with the King in the speech here alluded to caused him to be regarded with suspicion by the grandees of the then faction, as Mr. Heath calls them, which induced him to absent himself as much as possible from the duties of the House, for shortly after this period there appears in the Journals of the House of Commons the following order:—

"*Die Veneris*, 13*th Januarii*, 1642. — Resolved, that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd be required and enjoined to attend upon the service of the House, and not to depart it without the leave of the House."

This order was probably occasioned by an apprehension on the part of the Commons, that his known attachment to the royal family might induce him, if not to join the Parliament of the King, at least to desert them, at a period, too, when it was essentially necessary they should secure as great a show of members as possible, particularly of those whose talents and judgment were appreciated by the people, in order that they might convince the public mind of the apparent justice of their proceedings, and weaken the efforts of that fragment of the Parliament which had followed the King to Oxford.

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From this period little can be traced relative to the proceedings of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, we have seen that his attendance in Parliament was forced, though occasionally he is named upon the committee, but his disinclination to take part in the violent proceedings of the Commons may be imagined from the fact of their again ordering his attendance, which appears by reference to the Journals of the House, in the proceedings of the month of April 1643, where is the following entry:—

"*Die Lunæ, 17th Aprilis*, 1643, *post meridiem.* — Ordered, that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Ashton, and Sir Robert Pye, be enjoined to give their attendance on this House, and not to depart without leave."

But upon the discovery of the "treacherous and horrid designe of divers persons to joyn themselves with the armies raised by the King, and to destroy the forces raised by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to surprise the cities of London and Westminster with the suburbs, by arms to force the Parliament, to destroy the kingdom, and, what is dearest, the true Protestant religion," Sir Robert Harley, Sir Neavill Pool, Sir R. Pye, Sir Oliver Luke, Sir Beauchamp St. John, Sir Thomas Cheek, Sir William Armyn, Sir Henry Vane, jun.,

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Lord Ruthen, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Pym, and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, were the first to come forward and take the oath and covenant, "never to consent to the laying down of arms, so long as the Papists, now in open war against the Parliament, shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof," &c.

Though much has been said in just condemnation of the Puritanical spirit which pervaded almost all classes at the period in question, it cannot be denied that there was about this time a semblance of reason in the alarm of the Commons for their religion and liberties. Sir Edward Deering, who had been one of the earliest patriots, who had, in fact, if not in his veneration of the Protestant establishment, at least in his love for Protestantism, which was equalled only by his enmity to Catholicism, gone farther than any man in the House, even to move the taking away of the bishops' votes, had seen the errors of the Commons; and, having been expelled the House for publishing his speeches, he fled to the King at Oxford, and remained there for several months. When the Parliament at Westminster published their offer of pardon, he came in and submitted himself to them, was pardoned, and retired to his seat in

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Kent, where he shortly after died. Sir Edward is reported by Lord Clarendon to have been a "man very opposite to all their designs, but a man of levity and vanity; easily flattered by being commended;" but his strict probity and honour were universally aknowledged: such was his character even in the opinion of his enemies. On his return from the King about this period, where he had been mixing with the principal officers of the court, he gave such a vivid picture of their rancorous hostility to the Parliament, and of their bloody intentions of revenge in the event of success over the Parliamentary forces, as well as of their unalterable determination to have the free exercise of the Catholic religion; that he, Sir Edward Deering, feeling the greatest alarm for the safety of the people, quitted them in disgust, and determined to divulge all that he had heard and witnessed. His statement must have had a great effect upon the Commons, and would certainly excuse their subsequent misgivings and suspicions of the King himself.

On the 12th of June, by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the Earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Holland, and Manchester,

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Viscount Conway, Viscount Say and Seale* (who was Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's colleague in the Court of Wards), and the Lords Wharton and Howard, together with John Selden, Pym, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, and Sir Henry Vane, Junior, &c., were appointed to consult with the assembly of learned and godly divines for settling the government of the Church.

By reference to the orders in Council, it appears that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was frequently named upon committees for the examination of those matters which should best tend to the security of the Commons, and was appointed commissioner for putting into execution several ordinances of both Houses of Parliament; and on the 19th March, 1645, he was, with several peers and members of the House, appointed commissioner for supplying the office of Constable and Marshal of England in matters of arms, and to settle and regulate the Heralds' Office, a commission which was opened for the purpose of punishing those who had assumed arms to which they were not entitled, and for the hearing and determining all manner of offences and abuses since the beginning of the

* Upon the impeachment of Lord Cottington he was appointed Master of the Court of Wards.

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Parliament, committed by the bearing, assuming, giving, granting, or allowing of any coat or escutcheon of arms, or of any crest thereunto belonging, other than those to which the parties were entitled.

The civil war was now raging in all its fury, the excesses of which could not have been otherwise than abhorrent to the mild and humane sentiments of our author Rudyerd, although little or no information can be obtained as to the opinions he may have expressed from time to time upon the good or bad success of the Parliamentary arms, and indeed the nation was then too much occupied in the bloody and unnatural conflict of political parties to offer any space in the history or chronicles of the times for aught beyond the narratives of battles and sieges, and the details relative to the provision of such means as should enable the Parliament to continue the hellish strife of civil war, at least until the extermination, or entire submission, of one or other of the conflicting parties. There exists, however, in the record of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's votes, satisfactory evidence of his joining heartily upon all occasions with those who advocated an accomodation with the King, and the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. The only speech of any importance by Sir Benjamin

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Rudyerd about the period in question (1645–46) was the one he delivered on the occasion of the resolution of the House to abolish the Court of Wards and Liveries, which must be read with peculiar interest by all who can appreciate the disinterested conduct he exhibited in not opposing a motion which involved the loss of his office of surveyor, or second judge of that court, at a time too when he was well aware it was not in the power of Parliament to grant him any compensation that could be at all adequate to the emoluments he derived therefrom, and that, in the event of any settlement of the distractions of the country, no reliance could be placed upon its confirmation by the Government. However, in the same spirit of moderation which guided all his actions, he suggests rather the reformation of the abuses of the Court, than the abolition of the Court itself, although he states that he will offer no obstacle to the latter course, if the King, whose interests were so much at stake, consented to compound for that which was already his own.

This address, which is headed "Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's Speech on a General Complaint of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and a Proposition for Compounding for it with the King," is also from Dr. Robinson's collection, and it does not appear that it has ever been published:—

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"Mr. Speaker,—I am sure the best of us all may be amended, and therefore I will not say but the Court of Wards, as other courts, may need reformation; towards which, in whatever shall be just and equal between the king and the subject, I shall willingly and clearly contribute my best assistance. Only, sir, I shall humbly crave this indifference of the House, that what hath always been the constant course of the Court from the first erection of it, which is the law of a court, may not be imputed to the present officers, who never knew other, neither had they means to know it. If in any part of it there be any thing unfit, or exorbitant, it may be reduced and rectified by a better law; but if there be found corruption, extortion, or bribery in any of the officers, let them be prosecuted and punished to the utmost, let him be judged guilty that evinces the least favour. The revenue of Wards and Liveries, by reason of tenures, lands held of the King, is an antient legal duty belonging to the crown, wherein the officers are sworn to procure all things which may honestly and justly be to the King's profit and advantage, to the augmentation of the right and prerogative of his crown, these are the very words of the oath, which constrains an officer's conscience more than any man's speech made here in this place.

"Although, Mr. Speaker, I have always endeavoured to perform my best service to the King, yet my tenderness hath been to the subject, because we do meet with many estates sore bruised and broken with debts and children. But if a better course may be invented, which will be more easy to the subject and profitable

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to the King, I shall be so far from being a hinderance, that I shall be a furtherer of it, the King's leave being first asked and granted, for it will be manners in us to know whether His Majesty will compound for that which is his own already."

When the Parliament shortly afterwards abolished the Court, they appointed a Committee on the 16th of April, in the same year, "to consider of those well-affected persons who had offices in the Court of Wards, which would be lost by taking away of that Court, and how they might be recompensed, particularly the Lord Say and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd." And on the 9th of January, 1647, it was ordered that 10,000*l.* be granted to the former, 6000*l.* to Rudyerd, and 5000*l.* for Sir Rowland Wandesford, the attorney or third judge of the Court; and so great was the esteem of the House towards these judges, that they further voted them parts of the forfeited estates of Lord Worcester as a reparation for the loss of their offices.

Notwithstanding these marks of favour, Sir Benjamin was heartily disgusted with the disloyal attempts of the Independents. In the "Annals of King Charles the First," speaking of Lord George Digby, who seconded Mr. Pym in

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his complaint against the burden of ship-money, the Collector says:—

"Betimes he deserted the Parliament, seeing the drift of his fellow-members to tend to the ruin of the state and the destruction of the kingdom. And several others followed his example, as Lord Faulkland, Sir John Culpeper, Mr. Hide, afterwards Lord Clarendon, Mr. Bagshaw, and Mr. Waller, who were adjudged to death for adhering to King Charles, and illegally declared traytors. And other eminent speakers, in that Parliament for the pretended Reformation, were by them illegally sentenced, censured, and imprisoned; such were Sir Edward Deering and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who, in the simplicity of their hearts, spoke against grievances of these times, yet perceiving the intentions of their fellow-members to throw down all before them, openly deserted them."

This, however, is not correct as regards Rudyerd, for he stood to his post to the last moment advocating moderation and deprecating destruction. He was now an old man, in his seventy-sixth year, yet he continued firm to his principles; and though, owing to the stirring events of the civil war, little time was given for any thing beyond active exertions, still it appears that he was far from favouring the views of the successful soldiery; for, on the debate upon the petition from the city of

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London, 5th of August, 1648, he spoke as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker,—We have sat thus long, and are come to a fine pass; for the whole kingdom is now become Parliament all over. The army hath taught us a good while what to do; the city, country, and reformadoes, teach us what we should do; and all is, because we ourselves know not what to do. Some men are so violent and strong in their own conceits that they think all others dishonest who are not of their opinion; but he that calls me knave because I differ from him in opinion is the verrier knave of the two."

The scene was now soon to close upon his long political career; for, in the December following, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd and other well-affected members of the Parliament having been beaten, on the 4th instant, upon the question as to "whether the King's answers to the propositions of both Houses were satisfactory." On the 6th, the question was varied by the King's friends, among whom Rudyerd stood prominently forward in the hopes of arresting the further progress of rebellion, and making a happy peace with the sovereign then a prisoner; and, therefore, doubly entitled to the sympathies of his subjects. It was now put in these terms, "That the answers of the King to the proposi-

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tions of both Houses are a ground for the House to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom;" which was carried by a majority of 129 to 83.

Such an unexpected occurrence threw the Parliamentary generals, now flushed with their success over their captive monarch and the chivalrous aristocracy of the empire, into the greatest consternation, and one amongst them, whose ideas had been enlarged by success — the little Napoleon of that day, was determined to thwart even the counsels of the state — the collective wisdom of the kingdom. Oh, what a lesson to uncompromising patriots — to the lovers of political agitation! All that this noted Parliament, composed of the wisest men that England had ever assembled together, had effected; the thousands and tens of thousands of lives lost in the bloody contests of the civil wars, brothers in arms against brothers, fathers arrayed in deadly strife against their sons in the causes of liberty or loyalty, all rendered fruitless, all annihilated, by one fell swoop of the instrument of their own creating! The servant of the Parliament became their master, and dismissed them for disobedience. Thus had these proud patriots worked laboriously for a long series of years to no other purpose than to raise a

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plebeian, canting hypocrite to despotic power, which he wielded with foul offensive tyranny. Yet, though these same men could beard their sovereign, if he asked but time to read a bill ere he gave the royal assent, in fact, the liberty to read the deed before he signed it, what must have been their sense of humiliation when groaning under the vulgar despotism of a grovelling tyrant? Cromwell has his friends at this day; with equal truth it may be affirmed that Charles hath even now his enemies: but, whatever were the faults of the latter, it cannot be said that he ever attempted to mask his actions under the specious guise of religion, and thus to outrage the Almighty by the profanation of his name as an authority for every atrocity. Such was Cromwell's usual spring of action; and, whatever qualities of intrepidity and military genius he possessed in the field (and these cannot be denied to him), the death of the unfortunate monarch on the scaffold was infinitely preferable to the wretched existence in usurped splendour of the care-worn Protector.

Mr. Prynne, who had suffered persecution under the monarchy, with Dr. Bastwick, for resisting ship-money, was one of the victims on this occasion, with Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Mr. Fiennes, Sir Robert Pye, Sir Harbottle Grim-

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stone, and about fifty other members of the House, and in his pamphlet he thus describes the manner in which Cromwell acccomplished his object. He says, "The General and officers of the army were highly displeased with the vote of the House, 'that the King's answers to the propositions were a ground for them to proceed upon for settling the peace of the kingdom,' and with those members who had assented to it; and he sent two or three whole regiments of horse and foot to Westminster, set a strong guard at the House's door, in the lobby, stairs, and at every door leading towards them." He then goes on to describe the manner in which they seized the obnoxious members as they arrived. Sir Philip Warwick, in his "Memoirs," describes this act of the Protector for bringing Charles to trial rather differently. He says:—

"And now, here at Westminster, Colonel Pride and Rich's regiment, discharging those trained bands which were a guard to the Parliament, supply their places and guard them to purpose: for they immediately garble their masters and seize on at least forty members who were coming to the House, others dragged out and kept them under guard, and then they accuse Major-general Brown and ninety others whom they desired might be excluded from the House for having last summer invited the Scots; and this made a great breach in that whole number, and either

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awed or animated the rest. Now was the time (for they drove like Jehu) to bring the King nearer to the place of his mock tryal."

It appears that Sir Benjamin Rudyerd did not long remain in prison; and though the cause of his speedy release is shrouded in mystery, and it can only be speculation which attributes the fact to the interest naturally excited by his great age and sanctity of character, the singular circumstance attending the event must not be omitted. The "Parliamentary History" says, quoting from Mr. Prynne:—

"About 3 in the afternoon, Hugh Peters" (the famous Independent preacher, and, at this time, one of Lord Fairfax's chaplains), "with his sword by his side, came marching in to see the prisoners, and take a list of their names, by order from the General, as he alleged; when some of them demanding of him, 'By what authority they were thus imprisoned and kept from their duty?'—he answered, 'By the power of the sword;' and returning thither soon after, he released Sir B. Rudyerd and Mr. Fiennes (as he said) by the like power of the sword."

The General having now got it all his own way by the imprisonment and exclusion of the suspected members,—

"Those (says Mr. Prynne) who were in the conspiracy had the House to themselves, and voted on the 13th, that the vote of the 2d August, 1648, for treating

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with the King at the Isle of Wight was destructive to the peace of the kingdom, and is hereby repealed and made null and void: and that the vote of the 5th instant is highly dishonourable to the Parliament, and destructive to the peace of the kingdom, and tending to the breach of the public faith of the kingdom. And it was ordered that the General, Cromwell, do keep the King in safe custody, and do take care that he goeth not away."

Cromwell soon gave indisputable proofs of his zealous adherence to the orders of the House by bringing the unfortunate monarch to the block.

There is an interesting anecdote of King Charles in Sir Thomas Herbert's "Threnodia," which was published in 1702 under the title of "Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of that Unparallell'd Prince of ever-blessed Memory, King Charles I.; with Additional Letters by Major Huntingdon, Col. Edw. Coke, and Mr. Henry Farbrace;" in the perusal of which the reader will no doubt be surprised at the want of honour, generosity, and every good feeling, displayed by one of the principal officers of Cromwell's army. But it teaches a lesson which all lovers of public order and rational liberty will do well to bear in mind; that in the convulsions of states, where anarchy and civil war reign paramount, no faith can be placed in

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the temporary authorities, who are doubly oppressive, and most regardless of honourable sentiments, because they doubt the duration of that illegally obtained power, through which alone they could expect preferment.

"Upon one occasion, the King had desired Mr. Herbert, his gentleman in waiting, and most faithful friend and servant, to come to his room at an early hour of the morning. Mr. Herbert overslept the appointed time, and did not awake until roused by His Majesty's silver bell, which always stood on a little table near to his bed. On his entering the presence, the King chid him for his unusual tardiness, and good-humouredly observed that he would find a means to keep him to his time."

For this purpose, the King sent to Lord Pembroke, desiring him to obtain him a gold alarum watch, which he intended to present to Mr. Herbert. Lord Pembroke immediately ordered it, but it did not come to hand; and in the Memoirs above alluded to, the circumstance is thus accounted for:—

"Mr. Herbert, about this time, going to the Cockpit near Whitehall, where the Earl of Pembroke's lodgings were, he there, as at sundry other times, enquired how His Majesty did, and gave his humble duty to him, and withal, ask'd him, 'If His Majesty had the gold watch he sent for, and how he liked it?' Mr. Herbert assured his Lordship the King had not

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yet received it. The Earl fell presently into a passion, marvelling thereat, being the more troubled lest His Majesty should think him careless in observing his commands; and told Mr. Herbert, at the King's coming to St. James's, as he was sitting under the great elm-tree near Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's lodge in the Park, seeing a *considerable military officer* of the army pass towards St. James's, he went to meet him, and demanding of him if he knew his cousin Tom Herbert, that waited on the King? the officer said he did, and was going to St. James's. The Earl then delivered to him the gold watch that had the alarum, desiring him to give it to Mr. Herbert to present it to the King. The officer promised he would immediately do it. 'My Lord (said Mr. Herbert), I have sundry times seen and pass'd by that officer since, and do assure your Lordship, he hath not delivered it, according to your order and his promise, nor said any thing to me concerning it, nor has the King it, I am certain.' The Earl was very angry, and gave the officer his due character, and threatened to question him. But such was the severity of the times, that it was then judged dangerous to reflect upon such a person, being a favourite of the time, so as no notice was taken of it. Nevertheless, Mr. Herbert (at the Earl's desire) acquainted His Majesty therewith, who gave the Earl his thanks, and said, 'Ah! had he not told the officer it was for me, it would probably have been delivered. He well knew how short a time I could enjoy it!'"*

* "Athenæ Oxoniensis," p. 522. A. Wood says, "Mr. Herbert did not tell him the name of the officer, only that he was

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The conversation here alluded to took place on the evening of the day upon which the unfortunate monarch received his sentence to die.

Immediately after his release from the Gate House, where, as before mentioned, he was confined by order of Cromwell, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd retired to his seat of Westwoodhay in Berkshire, and spent the remainder of his days in that quiet to which his mind must have been a stranger while engaged in the political struggles of the times. No doubt his happiness was often clouded by the twofold reflection, of the monarch's death upon the scaffold, and the grinding tyranny of the usurper—a tyranny ever the more insupportable when proceeding from an illegitimate source—and doubly galling when produced, however unintentionally, through our own instrumentality.

Of the character of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd there appear not to be two opinions. Ben Jonson, a good and severe judge of human perfection, bears ample testimony to his worth in the following epigrams:—

executed after the restoration of King Charles II.; therefore he presumes it was either Major Harrison or Colonel Hacker."

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"Rudyerd, as lesser dames to great one's use,
My lighter comes to kiss thy learned muse;
Whose better studies, while she emulates,
She learns to know long difference of their states.
Yet is the office not to be despised,
If only love should make the actions prized;
Nor he for friendship can the thought unfit
That strives his manners should precede his wit."

Epigram cxxi.

In the next of which Mr. Gifford, in his edition of Ben Jonson, says, "There is a beautiful and touching simplicity which cannot be too highly prized." He thus writes to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd:—

"If I would wish for truth and not for show,
The aged Saturn's age and rites to know;
If I would strive to bring back times, and try
The world's pure gold and wise simplicity;
If I could virtue set as she was young,
And hear her speak with one, and her first tongue;
If holiest friendship, naked to the touch,
I would restore and keep it ever such;
I need no other arts, but study thee,
Who prov'st all these were, and again may be."

Epigram cxxii.

And again, in Epigram cxxiii., "rare Ben Jonson" pays that compliment to his talent and judgment which must perpetuate his fame.

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"Writing thyself, or judging others writ,
I know not which thou 'st most, candour or wit:
But both thou hast so as he who affects the state
Of the best writer and judge should emulate."

Mr. Grainger, in his "Biographical Dictionary," says, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was one of the most accomplished gentlemen and scholars of the age, a noted parliamentary speaker, a wit, and poet; and certainly if but a portion of the following verses, written on seeing his portrait, were applicable to his character, he was in every relation of life a most estimable man.

"Could we as here his figure see his mind,
Words would be speechless where a soul we find
So high, so humble, knowledge without pride;
With knowledge, zeal, who makes virtue his guide,
Not the times; who chose rather to be good
Than rich or great; who so well understood
Yet practised not court arts; for his friends
Found that he loved 'em for themselves, not ends.
Just beyond reach of bribes, so constant still
As fortune wants that good, nature that ill
Which he can wish or feare, and so does live
That he does lack a foe e'en to forgive."

These verses, so highly flattering to the qualities of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, have been attributed by some to Sir Henry Wotton, others consider they are from the pen of John Owen the celebrated epigrammatist.

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At last, having lived to a great age, during the whole of which period he had maintained a spotless and unblemished reputation for honour and integrity, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd died at his seat of Westwoodhay in Berkshire, on the 31st of May, A.D. 1658, aged eighty-six years, a few months only before the annihilation, by the hand of God, of the Usurper's power, having devoted the last remaining years of his life exclusively to acts of kindness and charity, and in the practice of that piety and virtue which had formed the consolation of his life.

No stronger example of the sincerity of his religious sentiments can be adduced than the following beautiful hymn which he composed in his declining years:—

"O God! my God! what shall I give
To thee in thanks? I am and live
In thee; and thou dost safe preserve
My health, my fame, my goods, my rent:
Thou mak'st me eat, whilst others starve,
And sing, whilst others do lament.
Such unto me thy blessings are
As though I were thine only care.

But, Oh! my God, thou art more kind.
When I look inward on my mind,
Thou fill'st my heart with humble joy,
With patience meek, and fervent love

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(Which doth all other loves destroy),
With faith which nothing can remove,
And hope assur'd of Heaven's bliss:
This is my state, my grace is this."

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was buried in the church of Westwoodhay, which, in the accompanying view of the old mansion built for him by Inigo Jones, is represented as immediately adjoining the plantation, and where that learned antiquary, Elias Ashmole, in his "History of Berkshire," says, "there is a neat black marble monument to his memory with the following epitaph written (according to the authority of Wood, vol. iii. "Athenæ Oxoniensis"), by Sir Benjamin in his younger days:"—

"Fond world, leave off this foolish trick
Of making epitaphs upon the dead;
Rather go write them on the quick,
Whose souls in earthly flesh lie buried;
For in this grave lies nought of me,
But my soule's grave two graves well turned to one:*
Thus do I live from death made free.
Trust me, good friend, I am not dead, but gone
To God and Christ my Saviour alone.

"He was born on St. Steven's day, 1572, and dyed the last of May, An° Domini 1658, leaving William Rudyerd, Esq. his only son and heire."

* The preceding line, "whose souls," &c. helps to the solution of this otherwise obscure passage, which must refer to the entombment of the soul during life in the fleshy *grave* of the body.

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William Rudyerd, Esq. the only son of Sir Benjamin, married Sarah, one of the five daughters and coheirs of Sir Stephen Harvey of Morton Murrell, in the county of Warwick (created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles I.), by Maria his wife, only daughter and sole heiress of Richard Murden of the same place, Esquire, Deputy Lieutenant of the County, and by this connexion Mr. Rudyerd was brother-in-law to William Lenthall, the celebrated Speaker of the Long Parliament; to Edmund Temple of Sibertoft, in the county of Northumberland, Esquire; to Arthur Samwell, Esquire, the second son of Sir William Samwell, whose ancestors had been auditors to several kings and queens from the time of Henry VII., and whose great-nephew, Sir Thomas Samwell of Upton, was created a baronet by Charles II.; and to Thomas Cole of Lisse, in the county of Northampton, Esquire: which persons married Stephana, Mary, Elionora, and Elizabeth, the other four daughters of Sir Stephen Harvey, and, according to Dugdale, "Mr. William Rudyerd and Mr. Samwell sold their shares of the Morton Murrell estate to Edmund Temple, and he to John Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele."

For what reason, it is difficult now to dis-

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cover, though the strictest search has been made among the family papers, but Sir Benjamin Rudyerd disinherited his son, and left his manor of Westwoodhay and his whole personal property to his grandson, Benjamin, the only son and heir of the abovenamed William Rudyerd, to whom Sir Benjamin was greatly attached, and whose education he superintended.

The Editor will make no apology for the publication of the following journal which was found among the papers of Mr. Benjamin Rudyerd, the grandson of Sir Benjamin, whose descendants are of opinion that it was written by him in his old age from recollections of his own travels, and intended as instructions to his grandson in his tour abroad. It is a very curious paper, and particularly interesting at the present time, as conveying a short, but no doubt accurate idea, not only of the state of the society of the French capital at that period, but of the manner in which foreigners visiting Paris then considered it a duty to occupy every moment in the search of information, and contrasts strongly with the slight importance which, owing to the increased facility of travelling by steam-boat and railroad, now attaches itself both to travellers and their tales. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd had several times visited Paris and

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travelled into Germany; on one occasion he accompanied his friend Sir Henry Wotton on a mission from Charles I., to which he alludes in his speech in behalf of the clergy, 1628. If the journal in question be from the pen of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, it must have been written at a subsequent period, as he speaks of the late King Louis XIII. who ascended the throne 1620, and did not die until 1643. The Editor, however, inclines to the belief that it is from the pen of his grandson who was born about 1630.

INSTRUCTIONS.

"If you go by

CALAIS,

observe the strength of y^e^ Cittadell of Calais, and you'l despise all y^e^ fortifications you ever saw in England. In y^e^ great Church there is a very noble tombe of marble. Card. Richlieu hath built the gates of this towne with admirable architecture. The English warehouse when it was in our possession. Mr. Booth there is my good friend, and will instruct you in all. On his house is engraven in stone, 'God save y^e^ King,' and is part of the English building when we had that towne.

"If by

DIEPPE,

Such a towne to make a collection of shels, ivory, and

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Indian work, all very rare and exceeding cheape, you will not find in all your travels.

" If by

BULLOGNE.

Strongly fortified; prodigious drie ditches and walls. The country all along this passage fertile enough, but rendred very miserable by reason of the war, which will make you pitty y^e^ ignorance and poverty of y^e^ people in this tract.

" ABBEVILLE.

A pretty towne, nobly fortified, and by Mons^r^ de Noger beautified with many rare pieces of martiall architecture. Here are excellent white caps of mil'd wool to be bought; y^e^ streams in it make it something like Salisbury. The accommodations are good. Guns and pistols dog cheap, and it were good to buy a fuseé, for you must travell arm'd, even in France.

" BEAUVAIS

is a pretty town, a fair market, a goodly part of the country; now y^e^ vineyards salute you.

" S. DENIS.

Within view of Paris. You must make an express journey to see things at leisure, and if you can procure somebody y^t^ is particularly acquainted with y^e^ Friers, to get one of the keepers of the treasure to shew you it particularly; it will take up an afternoon, and you shall well spend it, for it is a collection of the richest and rarest things y^e^ world affoords. You may have here an excellent pig, learn how they dress it, for the receit is worth having.*

* The " Cochon de lait de St. Denis" is still celebrated, though not set down in any of the *cartes du restaurant.*

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"If by Dieppe, you go by Rouen; you pass through an English country, a kind of Worcestershire. Fr° the top of St. Catherin's Hill, a lovely prospect. 'Tis a great citty, y^e^ bridge was magnificent, but is broken downe. Notre Dame (built by the English) is one of the fairest churches in France. The great bell. The Card. d'Amboise hath built much here. At S. Owen is a fair church, abbey, gardens; they brag much of their rose windows, but we have fairer in Engl. The palais where the Courts of Parl. are kept very noble. The town-house well-built. The rest of the town built like Lond. Gallion, y^e^ Bps. house and gardens worth seeing.

"If you deviate to Haure de Grace, the Sape, or Mole, is worthy considering, and the cittadel of y^e^ great Cardinal; you shall not see a more noble fort in your travails.

"PARIS.

The more you look on't, y^e^ more you'l be in love with it. Let not a day passe (for you must not respect dirt, O! if you had seen me in that towne) wherein you do not note something in your itinerary. There is a palace, a church, a monastery, a library, a garden, etc., for every day in the year. Besides, in the Rue S. Jacques, many a despicable stall will affoord you rare bookes, &c., especially the Court of y^e^ Sorbonne. The Pont Neuf is worth your notice, and (before my good friend Mons^r^. Sinclaire dyed) the house of the Samaritan there (as despicably as it looks) was as rarely furnished with all sorts of collections as any palace in Italy for the quantity. Desire to see it and the grotto of shels, also y^e^ passage which he cut to go

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into a cave under y^e^ bridge. The brazen cavalier, or H. 4. on the bridg was done by Jo. de Bologne, and is an admirable statue, comparable to most in Italie. The island is inhabited by goldsmiths and rare artists of all sorts, and is worth considering. There lives my old friend Mons^r^. Bosse, who you must sometime chat with. And there you are near Pont S. Michel, you will be surprized with the scene, representing some romance: 'tis sweet, clean, well-built, and exceeding beautiful. Pont Notre Dame is a good old bridge. You are now near Notre Dame, wherein I know nothing admirable, save y^e^ Collosse of S. Christopher, which is a huge piece. There is a good crucifix over the screen of the Quire, and some pieces of modern painting, dedicated by Ianstein, more to preserve their fame than celebrate their devotion, which are rarely done. 'T were good to see the K. when he go's to it some solemne day, because of y^e^ martiall retinue, etc. The Hostel de Dieu is neer it, and for the wonderfull charities is worth your th'rough seeing; go into the kitchens: view y^e^ cures: and now you are not far from the Palais, which is the Westminster Hall, and in my mind not much inferior, but the chambers and courts of justice, especially the Parliament chamber, far exceeding all that I ever saw; be at the pleadings sometimes, especially when there is some notable affair in Parliament, or that the K. go thither. Here is the Exchange, that above not so much inferior to ours, that below much. But if you can procure leave to see the treasure of the S^e^. Chapelle, there is, for Achats and other pretious things (leaving the reliques which are of huge veneration) a very great and rare

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collection. The late addition to y^e^ Palais is of good moderne architecture, and here are rare works in automata's. The booksellers in the great hall, and Exchange itself, sell very considerable bookes, and are cheap merchands. The chamber of S. Louis and Salle d'Audience are worth seeing; as you back by y^e^ Vale of Miserie is a shop that sells birds: go into it, and desire to go up into his wire chamber; such a collection of shels, birds, and Indian curiosities, no shop in Europe affords—but he is dear. If you walk to this place sometimes in a fair morning, especially in Spring, compare it with Cheapside garden, or rather 'tis incomparable. Remember to go to the halls (piazza's so called) and see what rare and goodly fruits there are, but you must go by 4 in y^e^ morning. The arch in y^e^ Rue Dauphine is a good piece of architecture. Step to Marests du Temple, a well-built Palais, full of noblesse; then to another piazza, a Cour garden, but not so pleasant, yet a melancholique fair place, there is a horse in imitation of that on the bridge; the horse is rare, but the rider not so good, workmanship, this is cal'd the Place Royal.* The Hospital of the Quinze Vingts, in Rue St. Honoré, is a noble foundation, and so is St. Louis, and the Charité, where it were no great affliction to be a little sister. Observe in attendance, thier sweet conveniences; and in y^e^ spring, get to see the cutting for y^e^ stone. The water of their fountain is esteemed excellent. The garden of simples, called the Garden Royal, was delicately kept

* This magnificent square, the only one in Paris, has not undergone the least change from the period of its construction, except that it is *plus triste que jamais.*

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when Dr. Davison presided; for all sorts of conveniences and situation it far exceeds any public physic-garden in Europe. The house and elaboratorie are neer it; but the Louvre will require thorough views. If the designe be followed, it must needs be the most glorious court for building in Europe. One court began by H. 4 and finished by Lewis y^e^ XIII. a noble structure, but the gallery is the most famous: The frieze-work over it very gallant architecture, but it consists of divers sorts. Under it (beside many other rare workmen, whom y^e^ K. allows house-room and provisions) is the Kings printing house; buy the poets at least, the King sells good penniworths. If a man would buy the Counsels, there were a collection to bring into England! The staircase in Madamoiselles logings over y^e^ garden, by the Gallery, is as hardy a piece of architecture as any you will ever see. Greenwich is a ladder to it. The cupola is not despicable. There is another large gallery which you must see; it is full of pictures, which though no famous work, yet for being very like most of y^e^ grandees of the Kdome, when it most flourished, I much esteeme. The Salle des Antiques you must needs see; it is nobly built, and that purposely for a repository of rare pieces of antique statuary. There is the original Diana Ephesia, which gave oracles, and another vast designe of many figures, all of one stone. Do not forget to see one of the wind-guns; there is an ingenioso that makes them under the Gallerie. And then take a walk into the Tuilleries, especially on holy-day evenings, for (though Luxembourg be a finer garden yet) there is better company, and you will at y^e^ Eccho hear one or other

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sing rarely. This garden hath one of the goodliest walks in the world, in my mind; there is also a cypress grove and a pool, aviarie, &c., and without it a most elegant garden indeed, commonly kept lockd; but if you espie your opportunity when some great man goes in, you may see it and be satisfied; I think Mons^r. de Fresne hath it, whose collection must be seen. Here you will begin to see something of a court, and will find the French to be a silent and civill nation;* I mean the best sort. There is another private garden which hath a long aviary to the street side; but you must not pass the mint, and see them mill their noble mony. Mons^r. Vavenne, who governeth that business, built his house, garden, all since I knew it, out of a stinking ditch, and hath now rendred it hugely delightsome; 'tis on the other side of Madamoiselle's garden. Get to see the Closet: the moulds from the life, y^e best in Europe. You must sometime to y^e Cours, where you will behold y^e civill order of their recreation, and y^e magnificence of y^e Fr. Court and The entrance was built by M. de Medicis, and is of noble designe. At the lower end of it are the *Bonnes-hommes*, a venerable monasterie; the chappell and gardens worth y^e seeing. The College of Navarre is spacious — see the library. The Sorbonne you cannot omit: it is a pretty, cold, melancholy university; but the church is one of the noblest pieces of modern architecture in these parts of the world.

* If our author's judgment were not erroneous, the changes of time have worked a wonderful alteration in the national characteristic.

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"Card. Mazarin's library must be thoroughly seen.

"Mons. y^e^ Count de Lisncourts palace, Rue de Seine, is worth seeing. Procure to see his garden, which is made spacious, for a very narrow plat, by perspective on y^e^ walls only. He hath a pretty aviary and a grot, but, above all, a rare collection of paintings. And in the countray a house (cald Lion-Court) which you must by no means omit to see; y^e^ garden and water-works do give place to none in Europe,—a proud word, but true. O! what goodly walks of pine-trees! etc. *Dominis parantur, seu viunt vobis.* I could account you every picture of worth in this gent.'s house in Paris: no man in France hath the like collection. The Madona of Titian our K. gave him. He hath rare Achats and other curiosities; is a religious, noble, and most virtuous person. If you desire to see pictures, Mons. Perishot is a merchand and a great virtuoso, a kind of galdrup, a florist, etc. One Mons. de Hausse, a Presid^t^. of Parliament, hath a rare collection of pictures and a pretty library. Luxembourg; y^e^ palace is one of y^e^ most absolute and intire in y^e^ world. You must see the librarie, and (if you can) get acquaintance with Mons. Le Brun,* y^e^ Du Roy's Bibliothecarye, who can shew you such rarities of shels, medails, and Achates, as no prince in Europe hath the like, no, not the Duke of Florence himself. O! what books of plants! etc. He hath a most rare little garden of ever-greens within the great garden, which is a

* This gentleman, who was librarian to Louis XIV., was the brother of the celebrated painter, Le Brun, who was born 1619; which circumstance confirms the opinion that this journal is not from the pen of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, but of his grandson Benjamin, born about 1630.

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very *rus in urbe*, a true villa after the Italian mode. Procure to see the Duke's private garden, the logings above, and, above all, the gallery of y^e^ life of the Queen Mother, painted by Rubens. The palaces all about this stately pile are all worth seeing. Consider S. Innocents, y^e^ Earth, the sculpture of the entrance by y^e^ philosopho-chymic founder. Mons^r^. le Richmonde (as I think his name is) will shew you such a collection of pretious stones, etc.; also Achates in bushels, and excellent pieces in miniature. There be brothers of the Morins all gardeners, which are to be seen, for besides, they are universall collectors of rarities. One of them (in Faub. St. Germ.) hath rare shels, purslan, corall, etc. The Palais of Vendosme, Guisse, Condé, Cheureuse, Nevers (one of the best in Paris), but, above all, the Palais Cardinal, a plain but neat thing; y^e^ galleries, especially the Queen's, most worthy seeing; so is the oratorie, playhouse, garden, etc. Get to see the Dutchess de Chosnes palace at the Place Royal. O! what furniture! etc. The academies for y^e^ great horse you may sometimes visit amornings; and be sure to see a prize at what time any is, for there you see all that can be done on horseback, and shall behold the youth of France *in puris naturalibus*. The Abbay of S. Germ. and library worth seeing; and the gardens. The wall is admirable. Y^e^ hospitality of the Abbay is great. If any opera be represented at Court, whatever friend you make be sure to get in; and go to Court commonly on Thursdays, for there was wont to be rare musique of lutes. Go often to hear y^e^ mountebanks,

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for you'l get language by it, and not unprofitable diversion, for you shall learn mankind more in this form than in all the world besides. You must be present at an audience now and then at Court. If you be at Paris on Corpus Christi day, walk about and take notice of what you see—much riches—much reverence —much superstition. One Mons^{r}. Poignant hath such a collection of rarities, that for number (being a merchand of them), you will never see the like. Procure to see Mons^{r}. de Puy's (Puteans) library, and Mons^{r}. de Thou's (Thurnus), especially y^{e} Bibliotheque de S. Victoire, the most famous in Paris for antient MSS., etc. You must needs see the Carthusians' Monasterie, and consider seriously how they live; and if there be not somewhat in it of extraordinary, certainly there's much of antient monkerie. About the mountain of Nitria, some of them have pretty little cells and gardens. I would for once see the mad people. The Jesuits Church and College must needs be seen. 'Tis a noble front, and within very cheerful. Also the Novitiat (neer Luxembourg), for a plain piece of architecture, is good. S. Germain fair is an assembly of all the marts of Europe. Get up to Mont-Martyrs, and view the quarries, monasterie, and especially the prospect. To hand you a little out of Paris,—

"1. You must go see Arceville, y^{e} aqueduct w^{ch} serves Luxembourg.

"2. S. Clou, y^{e} B^{p} of Paris's house. Here are rare gardens, villas, grottos, and cascades, etc. But, before all,—

"3. Ruel, the great Cardinal Richelieu's country

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house. Y^e^ building is small, but the gardens the most approaching an Italian villa, and no way inferior to the best of them. O! y^e^ joys of this Paradise! I can go into every walk with you, and observe their nidaries, y^e^ cascados, y^e^ basilisk (which they call le dragon), y^e^ orangerie, and, above all, that admirable piece of perspective—Constantine-arch, y^e^ like nowhere else to be seen; a rare grotto, groves, vineyards —all in one garden. Thence you may go to—

"4. S. Germains in Laye, a royall country seat of the Kings. Here were the most magnificent terraces and water-works in grottos in all France; but about six years since they fell down, and are, I fear, yet buried in their ruins. It were not amisse to live in the cheap town a moneth or 2 in y^e^ heat of summer.

"5. See the Hermitage of Mount Calvarie, and talk with the anchorite or stylites. Then,—

"6. Neer to this lies Maisons. I had rather you should miss any house in all France than this President's house. It is, in my judgment, one of the neatest pieces of architecture in France. Y^e^ gardens and naumachia cut out of y^e^ river, y^e^ cabinets, y^e^ offices, y^e^ grounds, y^e^ walks, y^e^ forest, y^e^ situation, y^e^ prospect. I never saw any thing in playe approach'd it. I was so taken with this seat, that I went constantly once or twice a-year to see it, and would never be satisfied; and yet then it wanted some small thing of finishing, for the village was yet standing, which I heard the President intended to demolish to make his avenues y^e^ more spacious. I could dwell in praise of this house. O! y^e^ ord^e^ of y^e^ stair-case

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pleases me well: I believe it hath cost him a hundred thousand pounds at least.

"7. The President Belieure hath a fine villa out of Paris.

"8. You will go see Picpure and Charenton, and Bassompier House and garden, and walk out to Veaugirard and Vambre; there is a pretty garden or two; and see the tapestry made at the Gobalines.

"9. The Bois de Vincennes, and Madrid, a pretty solitary place, built after the Spanish fashion. 'Tis a pitty it go's to decay.

"10. Go and bathe a night or two at Conflence. You may hire a boat and stay there one night; or rather, ride hither and come back by water; but this in y^e^ heat of the summer.

"11. Medune you are also to see, and many other incomparable places and villas about Paris, w^ch^ I cannot call to minde.

"12. The President Balieuls house is worth seeing. There is a Chanoine of Notre Dame that hath made the richest rock in the world, but I have forgot his name. But the furthest journey from Paris (till you go your tour) will be Liencourt (of w^ch^ before), and,—

"13. Fountain-beleau, about 14 leagues from Paris, and will cost you about 4 or 5 days to see it well. That which most takes me is the forest and rocks. I compare the house to Hampton Court for bignes, but not in other respects, and scarcely in that. It is to be confes'd that the waters are rare, and so are the chanals, gardens, fountains, statues, pictures, and the modern building and chappel, the halls, and especially

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the gallery of Pr. Titian in Fresca, accounted one of the rarest things in the world; y^e^ cabinets, and divers fair courts, halls, stables, furniture, and rare pictures. In y^e^ Hall of the festines (where the knights are installed) is a fair chimney-piece; H. y^e^ 4^th^ statue in marble, and a pretty new pair of stayres; Clementia and Pax, rarely done on jasper pillars. The chappel is very richly incrusted with marbles. Observe the *volaree*, and the trees and bushes on it. I know not how things are kept now, but in my time all were well looked to. In the Court of Fountaines are many good antiquitys. In the Jardin de la Regne is a gallant fountain of Diana and many others, with an infinity of hape figures. In one garden, full of pleasant walks, is a streme of a mile long where carps come to hand. In y^e^ towne are some courtiers' houses, fair enough. If you could go at a time when the boar and wolf are hunted, it were well worth your while. Their chase is quite different from ours; but you may see it with more ease in the forest of St. Germains. I forgot to tell you, that there are three Madonas of Raphael worth their weight in gold; and a St. Michel of Raphael, and a St. Bernarde of Leonardi da Vincis, and an infinite many of rare pictures. N. B.—See Rosso's gallery.

"14. Outwards or homewards, you must see Mons^r^. Issling's villa, whose collections of all sorts of rarities, in the house and without, his gardens and fountains, are worth seeing; onely, I have this prejudice against them, that (as I remember) y^e^ water is raised by force; yet the engine is worth seeing. His lodging and con-

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trivement of baths pleased me, and the conceits of the fountains, &c., also.

" 15. Maison Rouge. The house is not very considerable; but for the walks, prospect on the river, and a jetto of water, with y^e^ noise it makes, must needs be visited and admired. And all these are in your way, but out of mine at this time, for I cannot hold my eyes open any longer.

" Accost men hardily yourself. Y^e^ French love it, and scholars affect it.

" Keep good houres in winter; there is no danger in summer at all.

" In all your brawlls consider what may be useful for diversion or profit. *Book all down.* Be conversant with gardiners and mechaniques, you'l find them more communicative then ours and lesse proud. Be industrious in point of gardning observation.

" See the Greve (y^e^ town-house).

" Bernée is worth seeing.

" For prints, Madame Chartreuse, at the Hercules Pillars, Rue St. Jaques, will best furnish you.

" Other towns of France that are worth seeing, except Lyon, Nismes, Avegnon, Toulouse, Monpellier, Rechel, Tours, Richlieu, and Marselles, I know none.

" I believe the widow of Mons^r^. du Guernier may furnish M^r^. M. with divers pretty païsages* for a small matter; for they use to part with all upon such occasions.

" Mons^r^. de Febure is absolutely the most able chymist in Paris, hath an excellent hand (w^ch^ is y^e^

* Landscapes.

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chief of all in y^t affair), is a rare apothecary, &c. I suppose for 3 or 4 pistols you may see an entire course; and it will not be amisse to carry Mr. M. for most operations are better lectured on natural philosophy than ever he heard in Oxford; thus if you joyne him with you, I suppose for 5 or 6 pistols you would be very acceptable auditors. In pensions take a strict cognizance of your extraordinarys, and w^t you call for betwixt meales, for that uses to be very expensive at the end of every month, when you think there is no taile to your pension. Let your servant be sure to take an account of that.

"There was a very pretty garden almost against M^r Mercier's window w^ch belonged to an old gent. y^t had been writing-M^r to y^e feu Roy Louys 13^me; it had some solitude or other particularity in it that makes me now think of it.

"If M^r M. will be curious for prints (w^ch I cannot but approve of) every corner of the streets in Paris will afford him variety and excellent penniworths, and some good things: but if he would store himself with a series of some good things indeed, let him repair to Madame Chartres, dict l'Angloise, at y^e Hercules Pillars, Rue St. Jaques. The old masters are very dear in France, and so are y^e Italian masters, as Marc Antonio's, &c.; but French pieces will come at easy rates; and, in my judgment, being most of them landscapes and pieces done by places themselves,—there is nothing comparable to a collection of them. The most famous are Israel's, Perelle's, Delabella's, Morin's, Bosse's, and whatever hath been designed by Lindaire; for

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faces Nanteuil; the battails of y^e^ P^r^ de Condy, y^e^ rare things of Natalis, Melan, and Callot, and a world of others; for Paris is full of admirable masters in this art; his own genius will direct his choice. My way was to procure all I could of the things I had seen of gardens, touns, houses, etc., that I might fix the places the better in my memory, and delight myself sometimes with contemplating on them.

"For books you have the Derne for oracle, and the Stamparia at y^e^ Louvre, where you may have any thing that is rare, either in Latin or Italian. Via Jaul is famous through the world: the Sorbon for old books, and S. Germain's fair for all sorts and best pennyworths.

"Ædes Barberinæ.

"Pluvinel's Horsemanship.

"Ferrarij Hespides, a book in folio (printed in Italy), of y^e^ cultivation of oranges and lemons, full of taille—*douces Nierons*. 'Tis both in French and Lat.; but I think y^e^ last *editio* is in French. 'Tis to be had at the Herc. Pillars, Rue St. Jaques.

"Observe diligently the incomparable architecture of many buildings you'l meet with, particularly maisons; and in Paris y^e^ chappell of y^e^ Filles de St. Marie neer the Bastile, the Louvre, St. Elizabet, Fueillans, pont of St. Gervaise, y^e^ Noviciat, &c.

"Forget not by all means to get to see the Queens Bains at the Louvre."

END OF MEMOIRS.

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THE LETTERS

OF

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN RUDYERD.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following letters written by the grandson of the last-named Benjamin Rudyerd, and great-great-grandson of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, to amuse an aged parent and sister, and to dissipate the ennui of a campaign, are not, perhaps, altogether calculated to excite any lively interest in the minds of the present generation, though the different manners of the period and their peculiarities cannot fail to amuse, while the letters themselves offer the strongest evidence of the fact, that a knowledge of polite and classical literature was not incompatible with the sterner duties of a soldier, or the necessary personal accomplishments of an officer of the Guards of the year 1740. One hundred years have elapsed since their author moved in the gay and fashionable world, handsome, courteous, and refined, a perfect gentleman and scholar, of whom it

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may be truly said, *ses lettres font ses propres éloges.*

To the admirers of our old sterling and standard works of fiction, which are truth in all but the names and localities, and have their moral in the cutting sarcasm upon the vices and follies of an age which has bequeathed them to its descendants with interest upon the alas! increasing capital, the name of Smollett must add some charm to the merit of these letters from the fact of their author having been celebrated in the domestic history or town-talk of the day by reason of his connexion with Lady Vane, and being mentioned by that unparalleled novelist under the initial of Mr. R. in the life of that lady introduced by him in "Peregrine Pickle," under the title of *The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality.*

The letters themselves, though mostly written by Captain Rudyerd while on foreign service, and containing some highly interesting details relative to the great battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, are not so studded with cannon-ball or small shot as to preclude his entering upon the discussion of the political, literary, fashionable, and domestic events or incidents of his time in a spirited manner worthy his wit and

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classical attainments. His only fault, at least that which is apparent on the face of his correspondence with his grandmother, the Honourable Mrs. Chaplin, is the rather solemn denial of that strong feeling of devotion which he is known to have preserved to the latest moment of his short life (for he died soon after the date of the last of the letters under forty-five years of age) for that fascinating "seducer of all mankind," Lady Vane, as appears by reference to his second letter, page 284, where he describes in such glowing and enraptured terms her arrival at the camp at Ghent. He is not, however, the first, by thousands, who have deceived a nearer parent than a kind old grandmamma in such little operations of the heart; it was only unfortunate that he did not listen to the advice of that excellent lady, and thus save a greater portion of his fortune than the 800*l.* per annum to which he laments he is reduced in a subsequent letter, — a change in his estate, brought about in a great measure by the very *liaison* with that beautiful, though thoughtless and extravagant person, which he took such pains to deny, and which ultimately forced him to exchange from the Guards into Lord George Beauclerk's regiment; which, after a short stay at Gibraltar

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(from whence he wrote an admirable description of the state of the society of that garrison, not forgetting the rather arrogant and extravagant pretensions of the female portion, which he has handled in a masterly style), he accompanied to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where he soon after died, A.D. 1752.

Since writing the foregoing remarks, the Editor has been furnished with the following advertisement, which appeared in the daily papers of that period, relative to the elopement of Lady Vane from her husband in 1737. It is too curious a document to be omitted:—

"Whereas Frances, wife of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Vane, has, for some months past, absented herself from her husband and the rest of her friends:—I do hereby promise to any person or persons who shall discover where the said Lady Vane is concealed, to me or to Francis Hawes, Esquire, her father, so that either of us may come to the speech of her, the sum of 100*l.*, as a reward to be paid by me on demand at my lodgings in Piccadilly. I do also promise the name of the person who shall make such discovery shall be concealed, if desired. Any person concealing or lodging her after this advertisement shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour; or if her Ladyship will return to me, she may depend upon being kindly received. She is about twenty-two years of age, tall, well-shaped, has light brown hair, is fair complexioned, and has her upper teeth placed in an irregular manner. She had on, when she absented herself, a red damask French sacque, and was attended by a Frenchwoman who speaks very bad English.

"VANE."

"*January the 24th*, 1737."

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LETTERS, &c.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, *Wormley, Herts.*

DEAR MADAM,

IT is a great concern to several, who I am assured have a sincere regard for my sister as well as myself, to hear your resolution in taking her from school, whose persuasions, added to my own inclination, have made me venture to use my endeavours to desire she may, if possible, continue there another year or half; I only offer this through a sincere desire for her improvement, as it is the foundation of her actions for her whole life, if my opinion may be taken, that if there is a possibility she may not lose an education so much to her advantage in regard to her future conduct, since a year now will be ten times of more signification than the past, it being certain she can as yet only have fixed the ground-work for her next year's application. As I am sure you have a sincere regard for her welfare (as I have found by experience in respect to myself), induces me to believe that as you cannot but be sensible of what consequence this is, you will contrive some method to accomplish it: if my assistance can be of any service, I shall take a pleasure in applying it to

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the utmost. Don't imagine what I have offered on this head proceeds from any direction I pretend to assume over her, but from the sincere love I have for her, which I shall always be ready to shew upon all occasions.

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Pray excuse haste, I am going to wait on Lord Scarborough, and to-morrow shall go into Kent.

Thursday, January the 3*d*, 1739.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN.

MADAM,

THERE has been but one post before this since my arrival here, when I was so hurried that I had not a moment to myself, which, had I had, would have been employed in writing to you. We had a very favourable passage during which I had my health very well, not being at all sea-sick; but was a good deal fatigued, laying several nights on the bare boards with my clothes on, and my portmanteau for my pillow; but am happy enough to find, that by the help of spirits, I can go through a good deal of fatigue without suffering. We have been here so short a time that I cannot give you any particular account of this place, but it

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seems to be the general opinion it is the most disagreeable in the world; there being neither good lodging, victuals, nor drink to be had, and nobody to speak to but ourselves; no one public diversion as yet, but live in expectation of some French strollers, which may possibly help one to some acquaintance with the people, which at present I see no likelihood of. As to what we are to do we are utterly ignorant, but think myself we shall continue here in garrison this winter, and take the field early in the spring, but have no certain foundation for this opinion more than that of the public; but suppose you have more probable intelligence at home. We are all earnestly wishing to be employed to alter the scene which we are forced to undergo by staying here and protest the dullness of this city has a greater effect upon every body than one could possibly have imagined; every one strolling about without any meaning or design but as chance directs them. If you meet them in the street, or speak, they stare as one just awakened, and go on without having spirits to give an answer; and I verily believe, if we do continue here, half the officers will either hang or drown themselves through idleness and despondency. My amusements are reading and riding, but these are not sufficient to make up for the loss of conversation or company. I only beg to premise one thing in our favour, that whenever we come to England, the ladies will excuse any oddness of behaviour, such as contradicting them, helping oneself first at table (which last habit we have contracted here by a

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scarcity of provision where every one scrambled for himself as fast as he could to prevent starving); nay, I don't even know but by that time we may be boorish and morose enough to tell a woman she is ugly or old, which, under favour may sometimes be the case, though a truth not to be spoken. But, for my own part, to prevent as much as possibly incurring such bad customs, which, if executed, must infallibly turn to one's ruin and disgrace, and not absolutely to forget a branch of learning so necessary for people of my profession and inclination, I exercise daily a lesson of flattery with my drummer's wife, who was the only she animal I have spoken, till the arrival of that good creature,—I need not tell you what you must know by this time, that I mean Lady Vane, so am just now, and shall be during her stay, a little enlivened. You cannot conceive what an effect her appearance had upon the whole society, which (as that of an angel of light diffusing hope and joy to the despairing) recalled all their long-departed senses, and made them look up, gratefully acknowledging the approach of something more than mortal; which, to us that have been in a lethargic state of absence, she really appears to be. You or any body else at reading this rhapsody might reasonably conclude I had a more than ordinary regard for her ladyship; but, let that appear as it will, you know the contrary, and that I mean no more than to say, how great a pleasure the presence of an acquaintance from England must necessarily give me. Company just coming in, and the post going out, I

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must beg pardon for ending so abruptly; but will give further account in my next, I hope a better.

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Ghent, Wednesday 9th O.S., 1742.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, at Wormley near Enfield, in Hertfordshire.

MADAM,

I RECEIVED the favour of yours, but having, as I told you I designed in my last, been making a tour for a few days, did not receive it so soon as I should.

We are preparing with all expedition to take the field, which is now, I believe, in all appearance out of doubt, but what expedition to undertake is as yet a secret; it being so late in the year, fear it will be fatal to some of our men, as we shall certainly continue there pretty late. I am equipped in all respects, and have particularly provided against the cold, which I believe will be our worst enemy. I am very happy in having an agreeable tent-mate, and do not fear but we shall be as well supplied for it as any. I can give you but little account of my excursion, having been only at Brussels, where I met several acquaintance, and spent my time very much to my satisfaction; but met with nothing particularly worth your notice. As you get nearer the French territories, the people are more

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polite and sociable, which confirms me in my assertion, and that without prejudice, that Ghent is the most uncivilised, disagreeable town in Flanders. But have this to comfort me, that the people of this nation not bearing the greatest good-will to the English, any place garrisoned by our troops would be equally bad, as they are shy and unwilling to enter into any correspondence with them; but when we go as private travellers, they are courteous enough. I impute most of their incivility to the excessive bigotry which prevails amongst them to their own religion, and causes an abhorrence to those that profess any other. As this country is universally notorious for carrying their prejudices to the greatest extremity, even to make a merit in the persecution of those that do not conform to them, it is no wonder that we, who are not apt to affect any formal appearances of religion, and are content with the reality without the outward ceremonies (tenets directly opposite to theirs), should seem to them to have none; and are, consequently, disgustful to those who live by no other rule or reason than the implicit obedience to their priests, and the injunctions imposed by them.

We expect the last embarkation will be here in about a fortnight, when we shall have our definitive orders for marching, which, if we do not, will be to the great disappointment of us all, as our necessary preparations have caused us a great deal of expense and trouble, which nobody will think much of if we are employed, which is the only method we can have of having it repaid, as I do not doubt our endeavours

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will be attended with success, which, for the public good, as well as my own, I sincerely wish. If we fail, we have only to thank our good friends the Dutch, whose alliance would have made us capable of undertaking and perfecting any enterprise that we could expect or want to be effected, but they have absolutely declared they will have nothing to do with us.

I fancy you will be surprised to find me animadverting on religion and politics, who never pretended to be a great connoisseur in either, but just pretend to know enough of one to distinguish right from wrong, and to be a good subject enough to have the interest of my country at heart to desire its success.

I shall be able in my next to acquaint you for a certainty what we are to do, though I think our encampment is now out of doubt; till when,—

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Ghent, August the 28*th*, 1742.

P.S.—My love to my sister, and service to all, &c. I desire them particularly to Mr. Leigh and Lady Barbara. Your last direction was right.

A Madlle. Mlle. RUDYERD, *Wormley, Hertfordshire.*

MA CHÈRE SŒUR,

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 22ième laquelle a bien recompensé l'impatience avec laquelle je l'attendais,

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en ce que les excuses que vous y faites paroitre d'une manière si agréable, m'empéchent de vous accuser de cette paresse dont je vous croyois coupable ; et je suis fort réjoui d'apprendre, que vous avez si bien passé le tems avec Mons. Berkeley, pendant votre séjour chez lui.

Je vous écris en François pour l'avancement de l'un et l'autre dans cette langue, mais je suis porté à croire qu'il sera plûtot de ma part que de la votre, mais à l'égard que c'est mon premier coup d'essai, votre bonté laissera passer les erreurs que vous y trouverez en fort grand nombre, sans les regarder d'un œil trop rigoureux. On fait courir tant de bruits différens sur le chapitre de la campagne, que je ne sçais qu'en croire, il y a aparance, cependant il faut laisser au tems à determiner une affaire, qu'on voit dans une telle incertitude ; quoi qu'il en soit, la saison étant si avancée, il faut que nous sachions bientôt ce qu'il nous faut faire ; pour moi, je voudrois qu'il fut remis jusqu'au printems. Je me tiens tout prét, et il ne me reste qu'à suivre les ordres qu'on attend journellement pour nous mettre en marche.

Je conclus celle-ci en vous demandant de me faire sçavoir de vos nouvelles de tems en tems ; et soyez persuadée que je suis votre frère très affectioné, &c.

B. Rudyerd.

Assurez Madame ma grand-mère de mes respects.

Ghent, 7bre, 1742.

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To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, at Wormley, in Hertfordshire.

MADAM,

I RECEIVED the favour of yours, with that of my sister's, which I should have duly acknowledged the following post; but as our affairs here were drawing to some crisis, I was willing to defer writing till I could give some certain, at least probable, account what determination would be taken in regard to us. In order to which there was, last week, a council of war held at Bruxelles, when it was concluded, to the great satisfaction of us all here in garrison, that we were to continue quiet this winter in our quarters. The generals returned but this morning, so this resolution is not as yet made public; but, lest you should think me long in writing to you, I was resolved not to stay for a confirmation in form, as I think I may positively venture to say that this is the result of their consultations. I shall, for the future, pique myself upon my judgment in political affairs, as, notwithstanding all the visible preparations for taking the field, it has, from the beginning, been my opinion, that it would be impossible for us to undertake any thing at this time of the year. I shall, in a few days, go to Bruxelles with the Duke of Marlbro', who does me the honour to take particular notice of me, to see the Hanoverian troops that are near that place. After my return from thence, I design, with another gentleman, to take a house for the winter, as it is, upon all accounts, much cheaper and more convenient

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than lodgings, particularly in regard to equipage, which, from the want of hackney *voitures*, we are obliged to keep. As nothing is yet made public, I hope you will excuse this dull, imperfect account, which I will endeavour to make amends for in my next. I have here joined an epistle to my sister, that I may not be wanting in punctilio to answer hers, which I would have done in particular, but that it would not have answered the expense it would have cost her. I fear she will think, as it is, the trouble of the reading is more than it deserves. It was wrote in a great hurry, so hope she will not be too curious in her examination. I write to her in French, as I am convinced, by the little experience I have made since my being here, that practice is the only means of perfecting in that or any other science. As I have a great deal of leisure time, I apply myself pretty closely, being very desirous to understand a language so absolutely necessary. I seldom stir out in a morning, except obliged to it by attending the duty of the regiment, which time I employ in reading what French books I can get. I flatter myself—which is a great means of succeeding—that I have improved a good deal; but find a master is absolutely necessary to make one correct, as there are several branches in the understanding every language that no self-application can acquire a certain knowledge of; so will certainly, as soon as I have it in my power, have recourse to one to complete the little progress I have already made by myself.

I have made some acquaintance with two or three

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families of the first fashion here, who, as they are all travelled people, are excessively polite. I wish I could say as much of our own without partiality. I am conscious I have wrote so much nonsense by being hurried by the postman who waits for this, that I durst not read it. As I have neither time to correct nor write another, I will venture to conclude this by subscribing myself,

Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Wednesday, Ghent, October the 24th, N.S. 1742.

To Miss RUDYERD.

MA CHÈRE SŒUR,

COMME il m'est impossible de vous donner de remercîmens assez suffisants, pour votre lettre si obligeante, je ne ferai que vous en témoigner la reception, en vous donnant cette peine-ci, ce que j'aurois fait par l'ordinaire passe, si je n'eusse attendu de vous faire sçavoir de nos nouvelles avec quelque assurance, touchant l'affaire de la campagne, qu'il me semble, à l'heure qu'il est, d'être terminée pour le mieux. Il s'est fait la semaine passée un conseil de guerre à Bruxelles, où tous les généraux se sont trouves, pour déterminer ce qu'il nous falait faire : On a résolu de nous laisser tranquilles dans nos quartiers pendant cet hyver, cela

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étant conclu ; au reste, je m'en remets aux négotiations du Parlement, pour voir à quoi tout ceci aboutira.

Je suis réjoui d'apprendre que vous vous êtes si bien divertie au Bal, et je n'ai point de honte de vous avouer, que je me croirois fort heureux d'avoir partagé ces agrémens avec vous. Cependant, comme cela ne peut pas arriver, il faut se contenter en attendant le tems de mon retour.

Je conclus celle-ci, en vous assurant, que je suis,

Ma chère Sœur,

Votre Frère très affectionné,

B. R.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, *at Wormley, in Hertfordshire.*

IN my last, I promised to write to you as soon as I should again be settled in quarters. I now begin to know how far an officer may pretend to promise in such a case, since, at present, it is hardly possible for me to say how long I shall continue here. According to the first disposition, we were destined to stay in a town called Dueren, in the Duchy of Juliers, where, after a tedious march, and surmounting many difficulties, we arrived the 3d of March, N.S., and, as we all believed, again established in quarters for some time. We had been there two days, when, unexpectedly, an express arrived from Lord Stair, who is at Aix-la-Chapelle, with orders for us to proceed the next morning

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nine leagues farther up the country. Accordingly, the next day, we began our march, which proved to be equal to about thirty good Yorkshire miles, which we completed in one day. As it was through a mountainous, woody country, it made it a day of great fatigue to the men. The reason of our removing, as far as I can learn, was to prevent the Austrians, who are upon their march in this part of the country, from taking up our quarters, and distressing us in point of forage, which obliged us to make so long a march in one day in order to be beforehand with them, since the first possession of quarters, according to the military law, is a legal tenure. We are now situate in a little village on the borders of the Rhine, surrounded on all sides with mountains and iron mines, by what I can conceive, like the wild part of Scotland or Wales. We can get nothing to eat or drink but eggs and bacon and a poor sort of Rhenish wine, the meat is so bad as to be unwholesome; but in order to be more comfortable, we have despatched a courier to Aix to provide us some provision to prevent starving. As it is not for an officer to complain of the difficulties his duty obliges him to, I will be silent, and, like my fellow-sufferers, patiently resign myself to whatever may happen. I will only add, that it is agreed on all hands, that in the time of the severest service we can never undergo greater hardships than those we have already proved since our leaving Ghent.

I am quartered in the Protestant minister's house, who, according to the method of gentlemen of their holy order, is blessed with a wife and four children; it

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is the most rural landscape imaginable—a parsonage house, a water-mill, and a wood. Thank God, I am not much inclined to be romantically in love, as such a solitude would be then dangerous; yet am dull enough to indulge in such a scene, as riding, reading, and the correspondence of my absent friends, is my chief amusement.

It is impossible to conjecture what we are destined for, as our motions are so sudden and mysterious; it is generally thought we shall pass the Rhine this spring to make a campaign in Germany. I propose being in England next winter, when I hope to find all friends as well as I and themselves can wish. I will not fail, from time to time, to give you intelligence of our motions. As I hope it is needless for me to say how great a happiness a letter from Wormley gives me, I only beg you would, when opportunity offers, employ my sister as your secretary, as I would not give you that trouble: I have underneath given a direction that will find me wherever I am.

Dear Madam, believe me, with all respect,

Your most dutiful Grandson and humble Servant,

B. Rudyerd.

My love attends my sister. Compliments to Mr. Leigh and Lady Barbara.

Gimund, March 14th, N.S., 1743.

A Monsieur Monsieur Rudyerd, Capitaine dans le Coldstream Regiment aux Gardes de sa Majesté Brittanique, à Dueren dans le pays de Juliers, ou par où les troupes se trouveront en marche.

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A Mlle. Mlle. Rudyerd, Wormley, Hertfordshire.

Ma chère Sœur,

J'ai reçu une lettre de la part de Mons. Berkeley, qui m'annonçoit l'agréable nouvelle de la santé de famille à Wormley, ce qui ne manque jamais de me donner la plus grande satisfaction. Il prit garde aussi de me dire, que vous m'aviez fort grondé sur le silence que j'ai gardé jusqu'à présent. C'est me soupçonner d'un crime dont je ne suis point coupable, puisque nulle occasion se présente, sans que je n'en ai profité. Je ne tarderai pourtant plus long tems de vous prévenir de ces soupçons; me voilà prêt de vous informer de l'état où je me trouve.

Nos mouvemens sont si inopinés, qu'il ne m'est guères possible de vous en instruire avec la moindre assurance. Si je m'en souviens bien, j'en ai donné la description, ainsi il m'est inutile de répéter une relation, qui ne sçauroit que vous ennuyer, c'est pourquoi je m'en passerai, et puisque rien m'est arrivé de nouveau, je suis à sec de quoi vous entretenir. Selon toute apparence on ne restera pas içi longtems. En changeant de quartier on changera de style, mais à présent il faut que vous pardonniez la pauvreté de matière et de l'esprit. J'espère qu'un petit village écarté sur les bords du Rhin, environé de montagnes, me servira d'excuses pour une épître si désagréable que celle-ci.

Il ne scied pas bien à un officier de se plaindre des difficultés aux-quelles son devoir l'oblige, on se console toujours d'avoir bien soutenu le passé, il ne reste que

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de se soumettre avec la même résignation à l'avenir, que mon bonheur sera parfait après avoir essuyé tant de fatigues (pour ne pas encore parler de périls) de revoir mes amis en Angleterre, cette douce espérance suffit pour ralentir la longeur de l'absence, en attendant croyez moi,

Ma chère Sœur,

Votre Frère très affectionné,

B. RUDYERD.

Fait à Gimund, Mars 28ieme, N.S. 1743.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, at Wormley, in Hertfordshire.

MADAM,

IF my letters have not latterly been so frequent as your kindness and concern for me may have made you expect, and my inclination would have had them, I beg you to believe absolute necessity has occasioned my silence, since actually this I now make use of is the first moment I have had it in my power to write to you these two months, having been continually upon the march or in the field.

As expresses are more expeditious than the post, you will certainly hear of the action that has been here before this can come to your hands; but as the tenderness and care you have ever expressed for what concerned me, thought it my duty to take the first moment to acquaint you of my situation to prevent

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any uneasiness or anxiety you might have had on my account. We of the Guards had neither a share of the danger nor honour of that day's expedition,* being posted elsewhere. We gained a considerable advantage through the usual goodness and behaviour of the English troops and the bravery of the officers that commanded them. Upon the best information that I can get, I take the loss of our side to be about eight hundred, and that of the French four thousand and upwards. We had but few officers killed, but numbers wounded who are likely to do well. The fatigues we undergo are pretty severe, but as they tend to the honour and good of the nation, no one grudges their pains; my share of them I shall think amply rewarded by the pleasure of seeing my friends in England next winter, having already obtained leave to do it. We have a fine and numerous army ready and capable of undertaking any thing we shall be ordered to attempt, and which I don't doubt will be attended with success. I last night attended General Clayton's funeral, which was honoured with the usual formalities due to a man who acquitted himself honourably of his charge. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded, but not dangerously. The King was present the whole time, and gave the necessary orders himself. As a little ambition and hopes of promotion are what generally affect us young officers, we were not quite so well pleased to be left out of the scrape; but flatter ourselves the next affair to have our share in it, as those are the only recompense for the trouble and expense we have been at for the campaign. Battles and the consequences are subjects not

* The battle of Dettingen.

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very proper to entertain a lady with; but as these are the only topics we see or hear of, hope to be excused this short relation of the affair. The particulars you will have at large from the public. The whole army is encamped near the King's quarters at Hannau, where we expect three or four days' quiet, to enable us to go through the next month's fatigue. They talk of the Emperor's having signed a neutrality with the Queen; but it wants confirmation. If that happen, it will necessarily occasion a great turn of affairs. At present things go successfully on with us, and the French are extremely out of repair, which I hope will continue, that we may return with the satisfaction of having done a universal good, and get thanked for our pains; which, with a small pretence for preferment, is all the pay I desire for mine. I have my health very well, and am now very indifferent whether I sleep in a ditch or a down bed; the first, I believe, will for some time be my portion, and that will make the other relish the better when it comes to my turn. I fear you will hardly be able to read this scrawl; but if you saw my implements you would excuse it.

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and humble Servant,

B. Rudyerd.

From the Camp near Hannau,
July the 1st, N.S., 1743.

My sincerest love to my sister, and service to all friends who do me the honour to inquire after me.

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P.S.—Since my finishing this, the neutrality of the Emperor is absolutely without foundation. When this went away, Marshal Noalies, the Spanish Embassador, and the Emperor, were in close conference at Francfort.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, *at Wormley, near Enfield, Hertfordshire, Angleterre.*

MADAM,

I RECEIVED the favour of yours, but being then on march could not answer it before. We are just encamped near Mayence, upon the borders of the Rhine, which river we expect to pass in a few days. As I before told my sister in my letter to her, it is as yet impossible to guess what route we shall take, a few days must determine what we are to do. Prince Charles's army is between the French and us, so our passage will meet with no impediment. It is not improbable but we shall return into Flanders, which I own will be very agreeable to me, as it will be more practicable in that case to get over to England next winter. Whichever way we go, as the season is pretty far advanced, we must expect some bad weather before we get a house over our heads; but that we are now pretty well inured to. As to my own share, I prefer snow and cold to excessive heat and dust, as the last are more liable to produce

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sickness and enhance the fatigue. I am sorry to hear Lady Barbara is so much out of order, I hope by the time this reaches you the waters will have had the desired effect, to whom and Mr. Leigh I beg my compliments, with my thanks to Lady Monson for her kind remembrance of me. Whatever notions people may have conceived of Germany, that part we have passed through is equal, if not surpassing, any part of England I have seen in fertility and beauty; most of the woods, those of the flat part of the country, are entirely free from scrubs and underwood, and stocked with fine timber, which make them appear equally pleasant with the most regular park filled with an excessive quantity of game. I cannot say much in commendation of the Boors; but the country women are generally pretty and very wealthy dressed; however, with all these qualifications, I shall not be very sorry to change my situation. It is an odd kind of life, either dying with excess of fatigue and hardship, or an absolute indolence and inactivity; I should, however, have been very sorry not to have seen it, as those that have not been in service cannot possibly have the least idea of it; and as it will contribute to make me esteem those sort of pleasures that formerly appeared as things of no consequence.

You will easily find by the style of this epistle, that I write because I think it my duty to take all opportunities to convince you of the kind indulgence you shew in saying that my letters give you any pleasure; as my duty, inclinations, and endeavours, will always

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be to act in a manner to procure your approbation and a continuance of your affection.

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

From the Camp near Mayence,
August the 2d, 1743, N.S.

Pray my sincerest love and affection to my sister.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, at her House at Wormley, near Enfield in Hertfordshire, Angleterre.

MADAM,

I RECEIVED the favour of my sister's obliging letter, which I beg you to assure her was very entertaining. I desire her always to write in the same style, that is to say, every thing that comes uppermost. Those sort of subjects, though trivial, are very agreeable to one who, from so long an absence, has almost forgot the least idea of them. They serve to bring to one's mind the little occurrences that once gave one pleasure, and makes one wish to renew them. I am now more than ever inclined that may be practicable next year. I fancy by the time this comes to your hands we shall be on our way for Flanders. I hope my divinations are just; it begins to be terrible lying in camp; a few days will make it insupportable; half of our officers

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and men are sick already. Thank God, I have as yet held out very well, but dread the wet and cold, that upon our staying here a small time longer, we must necessarily expect. I fortify myself against them as well as I can, by as good living and as warm clothes as I can get. It is expected that before our return we shall advance still nearer the enemy, who are strongly, almost impregnably encamped near Landau, whence I cannot conceive that any action is practicable. The public will shew you our situation and that of P. Charles's army, which as yet has not been able to succeed in their attempt of passing the Rhine. You are by this time doubtless informed of Lord Stair's resignation, whose loss, as he was the best and honestest man perhaps living, is universally regretted. Not an English officer or private man but expressed concern at his leaving us. I am apt to think the debates of the two Houses next winter will be full as warm as our actions here. I wish sincerely they may all turn out for the best.

My sister sends me word Lady Dalston is very happy in an indulgent husband, and that they are in Yorkshire, which in some measure may contribute to her allowing him to be so. Whenever they come to town, probably her ladyship may be as indulgent in her turn. I am sorry to hear Lady Barbara is still in so bad a way, to whom and Mr. Leigh I beg my compliments. My sister writes me word of assemblies, card tables, &c. I don't understand what they are, and can dance to no tune but a march or a grenadier drum, in which, though the steps are not conducted

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with so great agility, are still very graceful. I cannot help thinking what an odd set of people we shall be at our first coming to England, either stupidly bashful or boisterously rude; the latter qualification I think the most likely to succeed. We must be a little excused at first, for the awkwardness of our behaviour shall soon reform with practice, and shall in time recover the ancient politeness so peculiar to the officers of the English army. One comfort is, let us be as ill-bred as we can, there is still another set of officers in our alliance that will ever surpass us in brutality. I do not mention who they are. They are not Austrians, amongst whom there are a great many people of distinction and very pretty men.

You had better make up the direction I give you, as most of your letters must have miscarried. Lord Berkeley is much in the right to make use of the old maxim amongst some ladies of no regular conduct, namely, "to cry something first." I have not heard from him since our passing the Rhine but once, and have wrote to him often. I shall do it by this post. As it is now raining upon my paper, I must conclude and go to bed tired of being wet through.

I am, Madam, with great respect,
Your most dutiful Grandson and most humble Servant,
B. RUDYERD.

My love attends my sister.

A Monsieur Mons. Rudyerd, Capitaine dans le Coldstream Regiment aux Gardes de sa Majesté Britannique, au Quartier Général en Allemagne.

September the 20th, 1743,
From the Camp near Worms, Germany.

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A Mlle. Mlle. RUDYERD, *Wormley, Hertfordshire.*

MA CHÈRE SŒUR,

JE me fais le plaisir de vous écrire, pour vous instruire de nos mouvemens, lesquels, à l'heure qu'il est se portent vers Bruxelles, à fin d'y prendre nos quartiers d'hyver; j'ai surtout celui de vous dire que j'ai tout lieu de me flater de l'espérance de me rendre chez vous à Wormley à l'entrée du mois de Décembre, c'est à dire, sitôt que les troupes seront établies dans leurs cantonnemens; c'est un bonheur dont je suis redevable au Duc de Marlbro', qui par sa bonté m'a donné permission de l'absence sans que je lui ai fait la moindre application pour l'obtenir, ce qui prouve son bon naturel, à quoi je ne sçaurai jamais témoigner une assez grand reconnoissance.

Nous avons près de deux mois de marche à faire, mais un voyage, qui m'amène au plaisir de vous voir, ne me paroîtra pas pénible. Je tacherai de me bien pourvoir des choses nécessaires pour me défendre contre le froid, qui commence déjà d'être prèsque insurportable. Malgré la maladie, qui a été extrêmement forte parmi nos officiers, je n'ai pas eu la moindre indisposition. J'espère par les soins nécessaires que cela continuera jusqu'à la fin de campagne, qui commence à tirer en longueur.

Les Membres du Parlement se mettent chaque jour en chemin pour l'Angleterre, où à ce que je crois, ils trouveront aussi beau jeu qu'en Allemagne. Tout le monde, s'impatiente de l'ouverture de la Séance, puisqu'on attend d'y tirer quelques lumières pour nous

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éclaircir à quoi on sera destiné l'année qui vient, soit pour la guerre, soit pour la paix. Je souhaite que tout aille pour le mieux. Je n'ai rien d'agréable à vous annoncer. Je vous prie de vous assurer que rien ne me peut faire tant de plaisir que la pensée de vous revoir, que cet intervale me sera ennuyeux. Adieu.

Je suis, ma chère Sœur,

Votre Frère très affectionné,

B. RUDYERD.

Au Camp près du Westbaerden,
le 24ième Octobre, 1743.

Faites mes respects à Madame.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, Wormley.

MADAM,

As I did myself the honour, the night of my arrival at this place, to write to you to acquaint you of it, and not since having had the pleasure of an answer, I am apt to believe the gentleman to whom I intrusted the letter, as many other fine gentlemen have done, never thought more of it, and wore it out in his pocket, for which reason I shall for the future convey my letters by the post as the surest carriage.

I have, as I before acquainted you, by the Duke of Marlborough's intercession, obtained leave for coming this winter to England; but the General hinting to

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me that, from the great scarcity of officers in garrison, my staying some time longer would be taken well, I have resolved to defer that pleasure some time longer; but propose setting out from this place in about a fortnight, which time, I hope you believe, will appear tedious enough; but as our situation requires some sacrifices to one's pleasure, I am willing to make this to merit his approbation.

I conclude you have by this time heard of the D. of Marlbro's being no more our Colonel; many reasons are assigned for his quitting, and I suppose, as usual, all but the true one. Many are named to succeed him; whoever it is, I fear I shall not get much by the change, as he did me the honour to express a particular regard for me, and I must be more than ungrateful not to be highly sensible of his loss.

As England is now the seat of news and politics, it will be in vain for me to attempt to send you any nonsense under those denominations. We are here a set of machines that wait to be set in motion, and cannot strike till the great pendulum that regulates them is repaired and in a condition to act. It is here reported that Lord Stair will again command us, which, I may venture to say, will be universally agreeable to the troops. If he come, I don't despair of hopping home a colonel. You may possibly think it odd, that the idlest man in the world should relish a campaign life, notwithstanding the excessive fatigues and hardships that necessarily attend it; yet, I assure you, nothing but a very independent fortune could recompense the satisfaction I have in being engaged in it; and as golden showers

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being somewhat scarce, and such an independency not very likely to come to my share, I flatter myself of smelling French smoke next year instead of seeing it at a distance as I did the last. An arm in a sling has as many charms at a ball as a red riband; and most women, like Othello's mistress, love to hear of "battles, bloodshed, and hair-breadth escapes;" which, though perhaps I may never see, I shall certainly take upon me to talk of. If I write all the nonsense that usually comes into my head when I take pen in hand, I shall be obliged to enclose this in a cover, which, as I don't think will answer that superfluous expense, I beg to conclude,

Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

My kindest love attends my sister. If you favour me with a line, please to direct to me, "A l'Impératrice à Bruxelles en Flandre."

Bruxelles, December y^{e} 23d, 1743.

To Miss RUDYERD, *Wormley near Enfield, Hertfordshire.*

MA CHÈRE SŒUR,

UN commerce si agréable que le vôtre ne me permet point de différer plus long tems de vous marquer l'empressement où je suis de vous donner de mes nouvelles,

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de peur que je ne vous cause du chagrin par un silence qui ne sçauroit être de ma part sans démentir à la démangeaison que je ressens de vous témoigner en toute occasion combien je suis sensible à tout ce qui peut contribuer à un entretien si doux ; et qui me procure tant du plaisir que le vôtre ; comme un commerce de lettres me paroit en quelque façon une espèce de conversation personelle, vous ne devriez pas douter de ma sincérité, quand je vous assure, que celui de vous écrire m'est préférable à tout autre qui puisse se présenter soit içi ou ailleurs. Il me fâche de ne pas être en état de vous annoncer quelque chose de divertissant en récompense des agrémens que me fournissent les votres. Cependant, je crois que l'état où je me trouve me tiendra lieu d'excuse à cet égard. Pour peu que je fusse capable de vous donner, de quoi vous amuser, un contre-tems facheux m'ôte le pouvoir de vous en débiter à l'heure qu'il est, mon meilleur ami, et celui avec qui je vis, se trouve présentement dangereusement malade. L'on se flatte pourtant qu'un bon tempérament, avec des précautions nécessaires le tirerait d'affaire, Dieu le veuille, c'est un très honnête garçon, que j'estime beaucoup.

Vous me sçaurez mauvais gré d'une épître si ennuyeuse, mais l'humeur où je me trouve ne me permet pas de vous donner du meilleur. Je me suis contracté une telle habitude de mélancolie, qu'un pareil accident ne laisse pas de l'augmenter infiniment ; de plus, il y a si long tems que je n'ai pas sorti de chez moi, qu'il m'est presque impossible de vous envoyer des nouvelles fort intéressantes. Je mène içi

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une vie fort monastique. Je ne sors que rarement, à moins que ce ne soit pour faire quelques visites de cérémonie qui m'y obligent par bienséance de me rendre en des lieux, qui m'ennuyent au dernier point, j'en reviens toujours plus triste qu'auparavant; voilà à quoi me servent tous les amusemens qui s'offrent dans un endroit si fade (pour n'en pas dire de pis) que la maudite ville de Gand.

Réjouissez moi par vos lettres, soyez persuadée qu'il n'y a rien au monde qui me donne tant du plaisir. Je souhaiterais fort que ce fût en mon pouvoir de vous en rendre autant, mais puisque cela ne se peut pas, je me remets à la bonté que je vous connais, de me pardonner l'ennui que je vous dois coûter, en vous priant de ne les envisager que comme une épreuve combien je suis

Votre Frère très affectionné, &c.

B. RUDYERD.

Fait à Gand, Janvier le premier, 1744–5.

Mon devoir et mes respects à Madame ma Grand-mère. Donnez moi de vos nouvelles au plutôt.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, *Wormley, near Enfield, Hertfordshire.*

MADAM,

I AM at a loss for any excuse for my having been so long silent, but assuring you I am at present as much

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to seek for matter to entertain you as I was a fortnight ago. I was then encamped at one place, and now, by a short removal, at another, which is all the difference of circumstance that I have to acquaint you with. We have short marches, little fatigue, plenty of provisions, and nothing to do: how long we shall continue in this state of inactivity is uncertain, though at present I don't perceive any great probability of our being engaged in any very material transactions. We have, every now and then, the satisfaction of hearing the sound of cannon from a busy, troublesome set of people that are amusing themselves with taking and losing towns, but at such a distance, we intrepidly give it the hearing without much concerning ourselves about it, though possibly in the end they may be cutting out work for us. Never sure were people in a campaign so little martial or more indifferent about what passes, —a clean shirt and a good dinner every day, this to us old experienced officers is quite trifling. What! receive the King's pay, and do nothing? Preposterous! This, I believe, is a good deal the voice of the good common council of Cripplegate ward and others. Patience, it will be our turn by and by, we shall have the honour of being Gazeteered in our place, at least I expect a whole paragraph in the "Evening Post" for my own share. The several may'rs and corporations shall have the pleasure of a list of the killed and wounded, not that I have personally any great ambition to be of the number. I don't doubt but you good people of England think that we have nothing to do but to go and take the whole French army upon

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our backs, and walk off with them; let them know we are too wise to encumber ourselves with any such useless baggage. Poor souls, let them be quiet; they do us no harm! They only take possession of two or three Dutch barrier towns,—what's that to us? Our plays and Vauxhalls will be as much frequented as if nothing of this had ever happened. Indeed, one inconvenience seems inevitable,—French wines and French caps will be a little rare; but as the number of those that drink the one or wear the other is so inconsiderable, that is but of little concern. The worst is, I paid my French tailor before all this disturbance happened, so that I shall not be much the better for it; but there are some honest gentlemen of my acquaintance to whom this consideration may be of importance. But now, alas! my spirits sink. My servant has just brought me the disagreeable tidings of an irreparable loss: how shall I write it?—my best horse is no more! He has just given up the ghost. I have no money to buy another, or, if I had, do I know where to purchase one so fit for my purpose. He deserves more praises than Strada's sparrow or Philis's lapdog; but I am too much depressed with the sad remembrance to be poetical, otherwise I should honour his memory with an epitaph suitable to the many meritorious, laudable qualifications of the defunct. Poor beast! he died an untimely death of his wounds; I hope this fatality to my family will not be ominous. You will imagine by my style that excess of grief has deprived me of my senses. No, I bore it philosophically, that is, I swore, found it would do no good, so held my tongue. I

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have known people, who for the absurdity of an epistle, have excused themselves by saying, "I wrote this in a coffee-house surrounded by a multitude." Now, I think I have as good a plea for mine, who am at present disturbed by a confusion of cannon, drums, swearing, crying, and a distracted noise of twenty thousand clamorous people who adjure all pretence to order and silence, of which the polling at an election, an execution at Tyburn, or a cockpit, can give you but a faint idea. A short interval of quiet occasioned by the men's going to church, which we soldiers sometimes do, gives me an opportunity of telling you explicitly,

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

From the Camp near Burlingen,
June y^{e} 25th, 1744, *N.S.*

My love and service attend all at Wormley. Direct to me "Du Coldstream Régiment des Gardes Britanniques au Quartier Général de l'Armée."

To Miss RUDYERD, *Wormley, in Hertfordshire.*

DEAR SISTER,

YOURS I received, and, to keep up the decorum of correspondence, address this to you, as I imagine a

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letter directed to Wormley will be looked upon as generally regarding every body there. I should have answered it sooner, but it came to my hands upon the march, which continued four days and nights successively, the fatigue of which, it being during that time excessive hot weather, has a good deal indisposed me, having had a feverish disorder upon me ever since, and which obliged me to quit the camp in order to take proper means to get rid of it; which now, by a little rest, and following the advice of my doctor, I have almost happily effected; but as we are again in a state of tranquillity, I think it more advisable to continue here some days longer, to quite establish my health, which any cold or fatigue I might be liable to in camp would be greatly pernicious to. I have hitherto, thank God, maintained it very well, and know how precious a thing it is to people in our situation not to play the fool to endanger it where there is no immediate necessity.

The army is encamped on French ground, about three miles from the city of Lisle, whose walls I think are too thick for us to venture to run our heads against them. There happen daily little skirmishes between our hussars and their parties, but nothing very material. I confess our forced march, and the expedition and alertness with which it was pursued, made us imagine we were going to some better amusement than lying still; but we were in the condition of a giddy messenger who sets out in a great hurry, forgets his errands, and is forced to stop to recollect, or go back to know what he was sent for.

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I was really contemplating what limb I could best dispose of, as I thought that a reasonable composition for a grenadier officer, if a leg, I could drive a chaise, but could not dance a minuet, which to us skipping captains is no small consideration; if an arm, I could do neither: so, upon the whole, I should prefer a bullet directly applied to my head or my heart, as that would at once effectually cure me of my stupidity and love, both which inconveniences I am terribly perplexed with, one being generally the consequence of the other; though I fancy at present there is no great likelihood of trying that application, and that probably we shall yawn out this campaign as we did the last, in hopes that the next may prove more active; not that I am at all for postponing, and had as willingly undergo an amputation in the year forty-four as any other, though, seriously speaking, I am more concerned for the dear creatures in England than as it regards ourselves. So many handsome young fellows kicking and sprawling, like a shattered covey of partridges, is a melancholy supposition. Such a deluge of tears as must necessarily follow the demolition of so many *beaux garçons!*

The Ridotto empty, the Opera deserted, Templars in bobwigs to supply the place of such well-dressed, smart cavaliers, — "*Comme les sont messieurs les officiers de notre armée.*" Oh! shocking! Out of compassion to your fair acquaintance, don't communicate these doleful tidings, as that will be to anticipate the grief that, sooner or later, must inevitably ensue our first action. When it is to happen, I believe nobody

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can pretend to determine. "*Et vogue la galère, je ne m'en soucie guerès*," &c. I don't doubt but you will be extremely diverted with this most entertaining epistle; I can't help it, you must take it as it comes to assure you,

I am, Dear Sister,
Yours very affectionately,
B. RUDYERD.

Courling, August y^{e} 1744.

My duty and respects attend my grandmamma, whom I hope this will find in health. My compliments attend Lady Barbara and Mr. Leigh, Lady Charlotte also, if not thought an impertinence; that I leave to your discretion. They also attend Mrs. Lovel and her brother George, to whom I particularly beg my compliments and excuses for not answering his obliging letter which did not come to my hands till 'long after the date. Excuse bad paper. Le croriez vous, mademoiselle? Je suis devenu le plus grand philosophe qui fut jamais, ce qu'au lieu de relever l'esprit, ne sert qu'à le rendre encore plus extravagant qu'il ne l'était de son propre, comme en voici une épreuve, n'est-ça pas vrai?

Que je plains le sort de mon pays, qui gagne des alliez, et qui perd ses chanteurs. Le pauvre Montnilli!

"Je ne sçaurai plus que dire
Vous vous lasserez de lire
Ce qu'on vient de vous écrire."

Adieu, Mademoiselle.

Vous me trouverez plus fou, que malade, et je le sais.

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To Miss RUDYERD, *Wormley, near Enfield, Hertfordshire.*

DEAR SISTER,

I HAVE just received the favour of yours, which I immediately sit down to answer, as I think I can never soon enough acknowledge how great a pleasure I receive from what comes from you. Be assured I cannot sufficiently express how great a portion I share in whatever contributes to yours, that of your expedition to Kent could not fail of being very agreeable. I don't think it improbable that in a short time I may be able to partake of some of those parties, since, according to my system of politics, affairs must soon come to a crisis; it is utterly impossible they can much longer go on as they have done hitherto. As to the reports that are spread concerning our future disposition, they are all imaginary, *des nouvelles du jour*, which we are so famous for; but, as it is universally supposed that what regards this country is already settled, there only remains for the next year a campaign in Germany or St. James's—the latter, I confess, would be most agreeable to me. I neither grudge nor fear doing my duty when required; but we are here upon a very bad footing, great expense, and little encouragement, no pleasure, and a great deal of useless trouble. I fear, whenever we come home, we shall meet with an indifferent reception, little thanks for our pains, which, whatever people at their ease may imagine, have not been inconsiderable. But the good

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people of England are too hot-headed to consider things as they really are, no battle, no bloodshed, no glory: and though the expenses of the war would then be greatly increased, they would still have the satisfaction of thinking they paid for something. We are now of opinion that you at home are not very well contented with the transactions of this year. The truth must out, and I am apt to believe, the fault is not so much ours as our neighbours; wherever it is, I hope the saddle will be put upon the right horse. I must beg to be excessively in your debt in point of news, you having entertained me with a great deal, and I literally don't know what to send you. I am now no more a man of the world than he that was buried three years ago. There is one article in your letter, which so far from surprising me, I have long expected to learn, viz. the marriage of Mrs. Plomer; she has lived too much by herself to make distinctions, she has only followed her own judgment, which has misled her from one extreme to another. Had she applied to me I could have given her better advice. If she were worth her weight in gold, I should envy the happy man; as it is, I am not quite sure I am not a little jealous of his *bonne fortune*. I meet with so much self-interestedness and ingratitude, nonsense and pride, that I could almost wish to loll in a bow-window, be very peaceable, and sometimes go a visiting, even to Sir Geoffry. I did not think her very bad for a widow, a little stupid indeed, but neither noisy, old, nor very ugly; but as I really pretend, whenever I dispose of it, to be paid for my person, I cannot tell

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whether she would come up to my price; it was a good house, a country I like, &c. You will wonder what frolic has come into my head to interest myself for a woman I scarce ever saw or spoke to in my life, and consequently could not have any great *tendre* for; why, I'll confess still more, I never once thought of her in my life till you mentioned her in your letter, which made me reflect that it would not have been so very inconsistent. Pray tell me how much I have lost, that I may be easy. You will, I presume, fancy that you have for a brother the vainest, self-conceited *petit-maître* in the world; a little indeed of both, but I cannot help it. Every fool one sees naturally makes one think better of oneself, for no man was ever wise enough to think himself one. Methinks I hear you cry out, "What? yes, to be sure, you think yourself so pretty a gentleman truly, you need but ask and have." Why, faith so I do; women are not so difficult to be got as you imagine,—there is a glut; for, in my opinion, a man that takes the best of them, unless he want a subsistence, does not get much by the bargain. Don't infer from this that I am giving myself airs, and, as a woman, impeach me of high treason to the whole sex. I assure you no one has a better opinion of them than myself, few so good, for I profess, *sans compliment*, I have found more good sense and more real good qualities in them than in any one man I ever knew in my life. Now, under these dispositions, if you can recommend me to ———, for I won't confine you to what, as I shall not be very difficult, I promise to make a very good husband. People tell me, that is,

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my servants, for I would not believe any one else, that I am not ill-natured; next, you must know that idleness serves for every sort of vice and virtue in the world: now, as I am, perhaps, the most idle person in it, have by so much the more so many negative good qualities, that is, I am not good, but I am too idle to be bad, which does almost as well, at least, it is the most general kind of virtue.

What Lady Dalston purpòses to herself by her journey to London I can't say, few country ladies find their account in it, for a woman that would make a very good figure in a country assembly, would be lost in a ridotto. They just come to find out they are out of fashion, and consequently go away less content than they came, with the mortification of having discovered their own littleness, which before seemed considerable. I hope you are discreet enough to keep my counsel, I should hardly tell her so much. She has so much natural vanity, as easily to be the dupe of whatever one can say to her; so much vanity, so much folly, and therefore the more easily imposed on, for all people, especially women that are so entirely satisfied with the brightness of their own parts, imagine they have sense enough to see through every body else. I know by experience how much they are mistaken. That self-consciousness of their own merit is the very thing that deceives them, it serves just to make them despise half the world and to be the bubble of the rest. You will certainly be vastly amused with this polite lesson, but I write to a sister, and that excuses my sincerity. It is not unlikely you will, upon reflection,

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find all I have said to be true; I know you have sense enough not to give into those ridiculous follies. I am not, indeed, very old, but I have had experience enough to verify what I have asserted; if it may be of any use to you, I shall be happy to have been able to procure it. Pray give my duty and sincerest respects to my grandmamma, with thanks for her kind letter. When you write to your cousins, don't forget my compliments. My humble service to Mrs. Lovell.

I am, dear Sister,

Your very affectionate Brother and most obd^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Ghent, November y^{e} 14th, N.S.

I desire I may hear from you soon, and please to remember there are four sides to a sheet of paper. You cannot write too often or too much.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, at her House, Wormley, near Enfield, Hertfordshire.

MADAM,

IF I thought making excuses would be of any service in my behalf, I would make ten thousand, but as I doubt you would believe them all made excuses, I shall endeavour at none. This letter will be full as good as any I could have sent you a month ago, having no more to say, than that I have nothing at all to say, from whence I might conclude, &c. &c. But as I fear,

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if I left off so abruptly, you might think me too absurd, I will try to spin out one side of paper, praying you suffer, if that should happen, the continuation of stupidity in a second. I cannot promise at present whether I shall put your patience to that trial or not. We are now established, after a tedious, I will not say active, campaign, at Ghent. As I abhor noise and impertinence, I have hired a lone house, situate in the outlets of the town, where, had I sense, I might reflect; had I reading, I might study; but, not being endowed with the gifts of either of those qualifications, I must content myself in the simple occupations of eating and sleeping, too happy if I can procure the one or the other. It is a strange life that of a soldier's, extreme indolence or extreme fatigues; I don't know which is the most irksome, one's time either too much taken up or not at all. When shall I arrive at that happy state, that, by allowing both, obliges one to neither; it will come, and, I think, I have now seen enough to make the best on't.

You would laugh to see me in my habitation, surrounded by a dozen workmen, who, as Mr. Pope expresses, "are worse than a hundred Germans when they scold," building stables, &c. for the reception of my cavalry, in which I propose to fix my chief attachment, not finding any other more worthy my attention. I am known to, and visit, all the people of the town, but were I impartially to describe what sort of people they are, you would not wonder at my not finding their acquaintance very agreeable. As to living with the officers of the garrison, it is like Adam in Paradise,

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surrounded with beasts he could not converse with. Men naturally bear hatred from knowing one another too much or too little. Some I know too well to wish to continue their acquaintance, the rest have nothing to encourage me to covet theirs. Don't infer from thence that I am grown a man-hater, nothing less, but I have the misfortune, from the little knowledge I have of mankind, to grow somewhat too delicate, and am in a country where that delicacy can never be satisfied; I am, however, beholden to the situation I am in, that has procured me a piece of knowledge that possibly may be of advantage to me the rest of my life.

When I read over what a moral dissertation I am sending you, I suppose you will necessarily grudge the postage of it. Consider it, Madam, as an acknowledgment of that respect and duty I owe you.

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obd^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Ghent, October y^{e} 24th.

P.S.—Direct to me of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards at Ghent.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN, *at Wormley, near Enfield, Hertfordshire.*

MADAM,

I YESTERDAY received the honour of yours of the 1st of June, where I am sorry to find myself accused of a

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neglect I hope I am not altogether guilty of. The winds have lately been so contrary that there have sometimes been nine or ten mails waiting. I wrote not long since to my sister, which letter probably did not come to her hands till long after the date, which might occasion your suspecting my attention in not writing sooner. I am glad to hear of my cousin Brome's being settled in a profession much more easy and profitable than that I have embraced, and perhaps as honourable, as a strict execution of function, whatever it may be, justly entitles a man to the respect and esteem of the world, which, though hard enough to please, will nevertheless at the end allow the due rewards his merit and attachment to his calling must necessarily procure him. I do not in the least doubt his talents are such as will enable him to purchase both. Could a young person, though the supposition is unnatural, but distinguish the solid from the superficial, one should find few people occupy the places chance has put them in. The gaudy appearance of a red coat seems to a youth of a lively disposition infinitely preferable to the dull, pedantic demeanour of the churchman, and I still think it so where fortune contributes to put a man above the little necessities his post engages him to; but where a slender pittance denies that, and present establishment is to be considered, I would prefer the other, as the most easy and most likely way to preferment, for our way is not to be purchased but by immediate personal interest; service and merit are not considerable enough to pretend to any claim without it. I may say without vanity I

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have acquired a tolerable reputation of being exact in my duty, and think I have never done any thing that derogates from the honour of my profession; but I fear I am at the top of whatever I may reasonably expect, unless the scheme of affairs should change, which at present I see no great likelihood of. It is most apparent that our next campaign will be upon the defensive, and, without endeavouring to make any acquisitions on our side, we shall be content to keep, if possible, our own: I wish it was determined, as our present situation is not only disagreeable, but such as must inevitably ruin all the inferior officers, who are obliged to be at such extraordinary expenses. 'Tis an ill that is unavoidable, so must rest contented, and make the best of a bad market.

I am very glad to hear that Capt. Berkeley's expedition has been successful, no one deserves it better; I do not know where to direct to him, or should have wrote to have congratulated him upon his arrival. It is now so long I have not stirred from home, that I am absolutely incapable of sending you any thing diverting. My friend, though out of danger, is still too ill to quit his chamber, for which reason we keep continually at home, as my presence may in some measure contribute to his amusement, and to speak truth, one has little invitation to go abroad, there is such an universal stupidity and dulness in this place, as hardly to make amends for the trouble of seeking it. Mine chiefly consists in taking the air on horseback, which, with the help of reading, makes the time less heavy upon my hands. Your kind invitation to

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come to England is impraticable this winter, at the end of the ensuing campaign, provided we should make one, I propose to pay my respects to Wormley, in expectation of which

I remain, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

My love attends my sister. Compliments to all friends who favour me with their remembrance.

Ghent, January y^{e} 24th, N.S. 1745.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN.

MADAM,

MY sister's letter I received about six days since (that you favoured me with never came to my hands). I should have answered it immediately had not my continually being on duty prevented my exact obedience to all your commands. I shall not fail to write to Messrs. Allington and Davies the next post, it being at present impossible for me to do it.

The season now coming on, we must expect soon to think of opening the campaign, almost all the officers are arrived here from England; as yet there is nothing known in regard to what measures will be taken. It is certain trouble and fatigue will not be

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wanting; what material exploits may be performed, time alone must bring to light: I cannot conceive the least idea of what we are destined for. I have this winter led so sedentary, disagreeable a life, that I shall be glad to leave a place where I have spent so many tedious, unpleasant hours; at least, the variety will in some measure be amusing. Where every thing is bad, prudence advises us to endeavour to submit and choose what is least so. This maxim is much more theoretically than practically true: I defy the most philosophical to say he is not affected with real adversity, however his affectation of insensibility may induce him to appear regardless of it. A man through obstinacy may cease to complain, but he is not therefore less afflicted; perhaps more, as he must be at great pain to stifle the hurt he would conceal; he loses the consolation most people feel at a participation in their distress, which, once communicated, greatly relieves his mind of that burthen it was before oppressed with. You before perceived I was grave, I really am so; a state of inaction and indolence naturally inclines to it; the passions, for want of being duly exercised, lose of their natural force and vivacity, and flying back into themselves, contract a heaviness and inactivity that always succeeds; where there is any pursuit, any end proposed, it actuates the spirits, it is a sort of whetstone to the imagination, which, by being attached to the application of some intended scheme, has not time to settle and contract that rust that is not easily worn off. You will complain that my letters are neither epistolary nor entertaining. News I neither know nor inquire after,

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what is in general worth notice you have at first hand. I take this opportunity to return my sister my thanks for her letter, she must not wait for my answer, but let me hear from her soon; I know no pleasure equal to that her letters give me. I cannot help paying her the compliment to say she writes very prettily, which, especially in a woman, is no despicable qualification; that, amongst others, she, as well as myself, owes to your tenderness and good instructions, I hope she is sensible of it; be assured, Madam, my gratitude wants but an opportunity to express itself as great as it really is.

I am, Madam, with great respect,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Ghent, April y^{e} 2d, N.S., 1745.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN.

DEAR MADAM,

WHEN I assure you I have not had a moment to myself since the receipt of yours, I hope I shall be excused my not answering it sooner. The motions we have been making ever since have too much employed us to have one moment to ourselves. We endeavoured to raise the siege of Tournay and give the French battle, in order to prevent their effecting it, which was but

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too unfortunately brought about on Tuesday, the 11th of May, N.S. I shall not enter into particulars, which you will soon be acquainted with; it was thought by people more experienced in the affair than myself, it was the hottest ever known. The poor Guards have suffered greatly, almost all the officers killed and wounded; of the first is poor Mr. Berkeley, who died this morning; of the last, is Capt. Cæsar, who I fear cannot live. As I know your kindness interests itself in whatever concerns me, you will expect I should say something of myself. I think it my duty to acquaint you that Providence miraculously interposed in my behalf, I am come off without the least hurt. I received many strokes from cannon and small shot, which luckily only affected the arms I carried, which were twice shattered, and one that slightly grazed my neck without doing me any harm.

I am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

From a drum-head, encamped near Ath,
May y^{e} 13*th*, *N.S.*, 1745.

My love attends my sister. Direct to me wherever the army shall be on march.

It was in this memorable action that both French and English carried their chivalrous politeness to an extent surpassing even the etiquette of the ball-room; and though the editor offers to the reader no novelty in the translation of the following extracts from the

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narrative by Voltaire, the facts of which are said to have been related to him by one of the principal officers of the French army, yet it is so flattering to the persevering courage and intrepidity of our soldiers, notwithstanding the fact of our eventual repulse, that he deems it quite unnecessary to apologise for the insertion of this *rara avis in terris*, an unprejudiced account by a Frenchman of an event which involved the honour and glory of this country. Voltaire, after stating the details as to the amount of the respective armies, which were commanded by Marshal Saxe and the Duke of Cumberland, gives the following anecdote relative to the onset of the French and English guards, the latter being commanded by Lieutenant-general Campbell, Major-general the Earl of Albemarle, and Brigadier-general Churchill, *the grandson of the great Duke of Marlborough* (query, Charles Duke of Marlborough). He says, "The officers of the English guards advanced and saluted the French officers by pulling off their hats, upon which the Count de Chabanne and the Duke de Biron, who were foremost, gave the signal for the return of their salute by all the officers of the French guards. Lord Charles Hay, a captain in the Guards, then advanced and cried out, 'Messieurs des Gardes Francaises, tirez!' (Gentlemen of the French Guards, fire!); upon which the Count d'Auteroche, Lieutenant of French Grenadiers, replied in a loud voice, 'Messieurs, nous ne tirons jamais les premiers, tirez vous mêmes' (Gentlemen, we never fire first, do so yourselves). The result of which advice was that nineteen officers of the French guards and

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eleven officers of the Swiss guards were wounded at the first discharge, besides 95 French and 239 Swiss soldiers, amongst whom were 64 killed. Colonel de Courten, his Lieutenant-colonel, 4 officers, and 75 soldiers, fell dead; 14 officers and 200 privates were dangerously wounded. The first rank thus destroyed, the three others looked behind them, and seeing nothing but some cavalry at a distance of more than a quarter of a mile, they retreated. The Duke de Grammont, then colonel and first lieutenant-general, was killed; Monsieur de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, only arrived when they were retreating. The English advanced at slow march, as though doing their exercise. The officers were even seen placing their *canes* upon the muskets of the soldiers, in order to make them fire low and straight. This corps (the Guards), which before was in three divisions, by the nature of the ground became united, forming a thick and long column, almost impenetrable for its density, but more so by its courage, advanced towards the regiment of d'Aubeterre. M. de Luttaux, now become first lieutenant-general of the French army, at the news of this danger, rode off to Fontenoy for a reinforcement, at which he arrived, but not without being dangerously wounded, and when entreated to have his wounds dressed replied, 'The service of my king is dearer to me than my life.' He then advanced with the Duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, which was commanded by the colonel of that name. Luttaux received two mortal wounds, the Duke de Biron had his horse shot under him, the regiment of

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Aubeterre was nearly cut to pieces; the Duke de Biron, then with the regiment of the king which he commanded, brought up his left flank and stopped the march of the English column; then it was that a battalion of the guards detached itself by advancing a few steps in front of the line, and after a murderous discharge, took their places again at the head of the column, which advanced slowly without even evincing the least disorder, and repulsed all the regiments which presented themselves, one after the other, the Guards, always compact and firm, gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, losing nothing of his usual coolness, saw the perilous situation of the French army, and sent word to the king by the Marquis de Meuze to conjure him to pass the bridge with the Dauphin, and that he would do his utmost to remedy the disorder in the army; to which his majesty replied, 'I know he will do what he ought, but I will stay where I am.'"

In this battle, in which the British army, after performing prodigies of valour, were compelled to leave, at least did quit, the field, though in perfect order and unmolested by the French; Voltaire says, "The English lost 9000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were 2000." The loss of the French rather exceeded the above amount, according to his own statement, with the exception of prisoners, of which we made none, for he says, "Of the French infantry 1681, and of the cavalry 1800, were killed upon the field of battle, and 3282 wounded; amongst the officers there were 376 killed or dangerously wounded: making a total of killed and

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wounded 7039." It should be borne in mind also that the French had an immensely superior force to the English.—Ed.

To the Honourable Mrs. Chaplin.

Madam,

I received the favour of yours and my sister's, for both which I beg to return my thanks for your kind concern for my safety; I must advise you there are many mistakes in relation to the killed and wounded, which I presume are by this time set to rights; for your better information, you must refer to the account published in England by authority, taken from the "Gazette," which is as faithful and exact a narrative as can possibly be given, both as to the action, and to the killed, &c. We have various reports from the French, but none that I have yet seen seem authentic enough to determine any calculation of their loss, which, according to them, at least equals, if not exceeds ours, which I can hardly think, as ours was chiefly by the cannonade before the action began, which, by the situation of the place, must have been most considerable on our side. This affair is so constant a topic, and so often repeated, that I almost as much dread the mention of it as I did the reality.

I must beg leave to acquaint you of one particular which I could not, without great impertinence, address to any but an indulgent parent, who I know favours

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me with too great a share of concern in whatever affects me to be indifferent in that respect. In that consideration I shall venture to tell you I had the honour, the night after the battle, of the duke's* public approbation of my behaviour at the head of the regiment, which in effect was no other than acting as properly as I could in the low rank I am in, and my capacity as an officer would admit of. I cannot but think myself too well rewarded by the honour done me, which, whenever occasion offers, I hope to deserve. I am proud, I confess, of being descended of a family that never disgraced themselves on that point, and hope I shall always maintain those principles I ought to inherit. I cannot sufficiently express the civilities of my Lord Albemarle on this occasion, who has given me a fresh instance of his favour by the greatest mark of distinction that can possibly be. He has just sent me orders to attend him to-morrow to Courtray, to meet the French general to settle the cartel for the prisoners on both sides. I am not very mercenary, and love my profession; these flatteries to my reputation are much dearer to me than any lucrative hopes of preferment.

We have, since our arrival in this camp, remained with great tranquillity; our reinforcements are mostly come, and we daily expect others; it is to be hoped before the end of the campaign we shall be able to give a better account of the enemy than before. They continue the siege of Tournay with success, the town hav-

* The Duke of Cumberland.

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ing surrendered, the citadel must in a short time undergo the same fate, but as it is exceedingly strong, it will cost them dear, which will greatly contribute to weaken their army, which I hope we shall soon meet with less disadvantage than before. It will not be improper to prevent you in one particular, not to give credit to the public papers, which are filled with nothing but falsities of the publishers' own invention, except the "Gazette." I must beg to conclude, being in some haste to settle my affairs for my expedition,

And am, Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

From y^{e} Camp near Lessines,
y^{e} 7th of June, 1745.

My love to my sister. I shall expect a letter soon.

To Miss RUDYERD.

DEAR SISTER,

I RECEIVED your most obliging epistle which, *sans* compliment, was the most agreeable amusement, I may say the only one, I have tasted for some time. How sorry am I to find my incapacity to make you a suitable return by sending you something to divert you: you demand a volume when I have not wherewithal to furnish an epistle dedicatory to a primmer, or spirits to compose a bellman's anniversary poem;

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but am, as the great Cibber says of himself, "duller than a horse in a pound," or, what is worse, less *spirituel* than the facetious Mr. Bells! However, you must conform your appetite to the bill of fare, and will, I fear, find the entertainment no better than I promised you, and that instead of a feast, which you ought not to expect from so bad a proveditor, you will be obliged to undergo the penance of a fast, which will, nevertheless, appear the less severe as you cannot fail of being continually regaled in the agreeable society you now enjoy; and, did not the grand sloop carry enemy's colours, should make myself happy in taking a cruize to pay my respects to the two fair ladies, *mais cela ne pouvant pas se faire*, without the risk of being taken for a privateer, I must deny myself that satisfaction, with my sincerest wishes for your happiness and that the Grampus may continue in harbour as little as possible.

You flatter me with the hopes of your making some stay in town, when you may be assured I shall lose no opportunity of contributing as much as I can to your amusement. I cannot as yet be informed exactly when the Ridottos begin, but believe in about three weeks. Is it impossible to bring your cousins with you? I should esteem myself very happy in procuring tickets for them and you, and more so in the pleasure of attending you there. I was at the masquerade which, *soit dit en passant*, was by much the worst I ever saw; there will be two more, which, without very singular inducements, I shall not trouble with my appearance. I thought—but as you know I

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never thought right—I might, from my long absence from the world, have passed *incognito;* but, lest I should enjoy a moment's quiet, twenty devils in the shape of women, as they always are such or angels, agreed to torment me all the night with the fulsome repetition of my exploits (a subject I always wish to forget), and a sort of impertinent pity that I was not fool enough to continue them.

I t'other day met Miss Elwys in the Park, to whom I paid my *devoirs*. The Mdlles. Alston do not come to town this year, nor does Captain Phillis go abroad, who is at present highly chagrined that some officer has been advanced over his head. As to the accounts you hear of me they are mere conjectures, as I seldom go into company; however, I shall not this campaign have the honour to gather laurels, or the pleasure of having my brains knocked out. If you think my intercession for your longer stay can be of any service, let me know your commands, as I am always ready to comply with any you can lay on,

Dear Sister,

Your most affectionate Brother, &c.

B. RUDYERD.

St. James's, Feb. 2d, 1746.

P.S.—I beg my compliments to the two ladies.

My particular thanks to Miss Brome for the honour she did me by her obliging epistle; did I not fear it would be thought impertinent, should have done myself that of answering it, but should be sorry to offend where I have so great an obligation. Assure

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her of my sincerest regard, *pour n'en pas dire d'advantage.*

Pray let me hear soon. You may depend on my sending *caffiaux* the first opportunity.

To Miss RUDYERD.

DEAR SISTER,

I CANNOT any longer defer acknowledging the receipt of your two obliging letters, which, as they never fail to do, gave me extreme pleasure; yet I cannot help complaining of the shortness of them. Can I imagine paper is so scarce or time so precious but that at intervals you might indulge me with a longer conversation, for such is I think a literary correspondence, the only alleviation of an enforced absence, and which can alone mitigate the pains we feel from being denied the pleasure of the company of those we would wish to pass our time with? My dear sister, may Heaven preserve you from those anxieties I have and still continue to suffer; as you deserve it, may Providence ever pour its blessings on you! Your happiness is the only prospect of mine, to see you happy my only ambition, and, as far as a fond brother can contribute towards the completion of it, depend on my utmost efforts to promote it. My spirits, as you may perceive by my style, are too much depressed to write any thing to amuse you; yet were I in the possession of the

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highest enjoyments this life can afford, assure yourself my sentiments in that respect would be still the same. I am to-morrow to dine with the Duke of Marlbro', who has offered me his utmost assistance in money or interest.

Tower, December, 1746.

To the Honourable Mrs. CHAPLIN.

MADAM,

I SHOULD before this have done myself the honour of answering yours, but flattered myself I should have been able to have done it in person; but our duty comes so quickly upon us since the departure of the two battalions, that we have scarce a day to ourselves; and, at leisure hours, I am obliged to pay my *devoirs* where interest and prudence in my present situation direct me, and which it would be madness to neglect. At the time of writing this, I am not sure I shall not arrive at Wormley before it, as I am determined to profit of the first occasion that presents itself to pay my respects where duty and inclination direct the way. A few days ago I received a letter from my sister, which I must do her the justice to say was wrote in a style and manner I could not have expected from her, and which, I assure you, gave me infinite satisfaction to see your love, and the education you have bestowed upon her, seemed not to be thrown away, and was such as I should have thought did me

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honour to put my name to. I may, perhaps, be a little partial, but as I should be extremely sorry to see her do wrong, so I cannot help feeling a sensible satisfaction in the discovery of her good qualities, which, did I not, I should not act according to the principles a brother ought to observe in behalf of so good a sister. She seemed to hint to me, as she passes her time very agreeably with her cousins, that she would wish her leave of absence might be prolonged; but as you are alone, I cannot in justice say more on that head. I wish, pursuant to your kind invitation, it was in my power to supply her place; but as that is uncertain, cannot promise myself so much pleasure. I t'other day met Miss Elwys in the Park, who is very well, and to whom I paid my *devoirs*.

I frequently see Mr. May in order to bring my troublesome affairs to a conclusion; but whether it may be owing to the difficulties he objects, or his dilatory way of proceeding, I do not perceive they promise a speedy conclusion. It is very cruel, as, upon my honour, I have no occasion to be thus involved; for, upon the strictest calculation I can make, I find myself worth eight hundred pounds per annum and every thing paid, which, with the liberty of seeing my friends, my commission, and my expectances from my good friend, the Duke of Marlbro', would make me very easy. As I have long experienced your tenderness and concern for me, should be unwilling to say any thing to make you uneasy; but, thank God, I can bear a good deal without murmuring, yet cannot help saying, I dearly pay for my past follies, as I am

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not that wild, thoughtless creature I may have appeared, nor incapable of reflection. I hope for the best, and a speedy delivery from my present troubles; and desire no pity if, once upon my legs, I ever involve myself in the like difficulties.

As misfortunes never come single, I had sold my horse for fifty guineas; and, upon my going to deliver him, he fell lame on the road, which, upon the whole, I am not sorry for, as I would not upon any consideration be suspected to deceive a man who totally confided in my honour. He will soon be well, and I can, whenever I choose it, have a purchaser on the same terms; whether it is that they have a good opinion of my judgment, or that I do not mean to turn cheat, I could have parted with him on my bare word to a dozen different people. Excuse my enclosing this tiresome epistle, and will for the future endeavour to have them franked. But when I once sit down to write I never know when to have done; but as matter and paper grow scanty will not longer trespass on your patience, but, with all respect, subscribe myself,

Madam,

Your most dutiful Grandson and most obed^{t} humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

St. James's, Feb. y^{e} 2d, 1747.

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To —— Willis, Esquire.

Dear Sir,

As I shall never let slip any opportunity of expressing my acknowledgment of all favours, I take this to repeat my sincere thanks for those your kindness have befriended me with, and to give you some account of myself since our parting. After a long and tedious passage of two months, with very indifferent accommodation, we arrived here. I was very agreeably disappointed in finding the place not near so bad as it is generally represented, next in meeting with the greatest civilities from the governor, my colonel, and all the officers in general, many of whom are my old Flanders acquaintance; and for the first three weeks was never free from invitations, which I have at last, to my no small satisfaction, got over, as it was attacking a man at disadvantage after the fatigue of so long a passage, and I would not be thought a *queer* fellow at my first setting out; however, I escaped pretty well: and by living ever since quiet and retired, am quite recovered of a slight indisposition occasioned by drinking too much red wine, which, though small, is very heating, and apt to create a disorder my constitution naturally subjects me to. This place is, indeed, very much confined, and the heat is disagreeable; but it is to me a heaven; I esteem it as a paradise when I reflect on the miserable and anxious life I have led for some time past; for, indeed, sir, you can form no idea adequate to what I have suffered. I intend to

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remove from the barracks in about a month, and should wish to have a house fit to receive a friend. Every thing here is forty per cent dearer than in England; but one great consolation is that all furniture is as good as ready money, there being no second-hand price, so that at my going away I should not be a farthing loser, as the officers of the late garrison, who had been here so long, experienced, having sold all their goods at prime cost. I should be glad my sister would send me whatever belongs to me that may be useful in a house, the chest only excepted, as she sent me word she should have occasion for that herself, and that and every thing else in my power is always at her service. I am in sad distress for want of my books, which are very material articles in this place. You see, sir, I make very free with that indulgence you favoured me with, and whatever expense you shall be at I will carefully remit it by Mr. Adair. You will believe I am exceedingly anxious to hear from England, especially as regards my sister. I wait her further advice how to act in regard to my father's will and shall act in conformity to her desires.

It will, perhaps, be expected that from so polite a place as this, I should say something of the ladies who are the ornaments of it, of whom I can only say, they are what they are; as being of the subaltern order of gentry, that is, the lowest of the highest, and the highest of the lowest, they are consequently proud and impertinent. We have an assembly and a concert every week, where there are as many feuds, divisions, and parties, as in any country town in England; it is,

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however, a likely market for young gentlewomen of small fortunes, as, however deficient in other qualifications, they all plead the prerogatives of the sex; for as a very wise, penetrating lady observed, "that though the gentlemen at present did not seem very inclinable to marriage, yet," she added, "if the relief does not go on they will be forced to come to whether they will or no." This sage lady has, I presume, an eye to business herself, and she thinks that the garrison must be starved out and surrender at discretion. Now, as I have the honour of knowing her, I promise her I shall not surrender at discretion. She will, besides, meet with another obstacle, viz. that most of the young gentlemen are already provided, being myself almost the only single officer in the regiment. Poor Lumsden! who desires his compliments, *quanta laborat in Charybdi, dignus meliore flammâ*, for *she* is, to say truth, a very bitch about house. I knew both him and her when I saw them, having belonged to the same club with him at Ghent. You may laugh at me if you please, but I speak most seriously; a decent, agreeable, white handed *beetle* —— is what people have taken to themselves with a view to economy, as it is the only means of keeping a man out of company; and one night's reckoning at a tavern will maintain her and yourself two days; I mean a modest, sober girl (for, notwithstanding all the very virtuous ladies may pretend, such are to be found), who will manage your house, take care of your linen and poultry; for we are all farmers, and cannot here put you to any extraordinary expense if they would. Had I known

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as much as I do now, nothing but impossibilities should have prevented me from having with me now, not only the woman I love most on earth (and, what is worse, I find ever shall), but one exactly calculated to inspire happiness; and, as for jealousies and heart-burnings, there are no such things; for their persons are more sacred and inviolable than any fine lady's in Great Britain, which is very wisely agreed, as this place would otherwise want a yearly supply of officers, there being a great many pretty young fellows with confounded long swords, who seem as if they would use them on such an occasion, as, indeed, most of them are known to have done so; for which reason we live very sociably and amicably together. I am almost ashamed to remind you of a little packet I gave to your care, for I, not for

> "Quæ tenuit dives Achamœnes, &c.
> Permutare velim crine,
> Adjuro nunquam eam me deserturum
> Non si," &c.

> "No man condemn me who has ever felt
> A woman's power, or try'd the force of love;
> All tempers yield, and soften in those fires:
> Our honours, interests, resolving down,
> Run in the gentle current of our joys."
>
> "Ignosæ benignus Aventi."

But to quit so impertinent a subject, which I fear takes up too much of my thoughts, I can with pleasure inform you that a company here is worth upwards of

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300*l.* per annum. I shall, as we are at small expenses, after the first year, be able to live like other people, and not touch any of my pay; which expenses would be greatly lessened could I live at home, which I would do had I an agreeable partner to pass my time with, which is my chief study to accomplish, though I know it would be difficult to effect it where I wish, and no other can ever tempt me to enter a serious engagement. You will not imagine it any other than an excuse for dulness to say I write in haste, which I really do, as the ship sails to-morrow; so assuring you of a friendship which

"Neque fervidis,
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec
Vincent aquora."

I subscribe myself, with the greatest sincerity,

Your Friend and most obedient humble Servant,

B. RUDYERD.

Gibraltar, April the 21*st*, 1750.

Lest I should not have time to write, pray my love to my sister, compliments to Miss Willis, Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, and Miss Brome.

If you can conveniently, pray send me some pickles and mustard-seed.

Please to let your servant go to Ned Cater, at the Red Lyon, in Long Acre, to know if he has any letters or other things for me, which I beg you to forward with the others. Whatever letters you will please to

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favour me with, you had best send them directed for me of Lord George Beauclerke's Regiment, at this place, to Mr. Adair, and he will forward them in the Regimental Packet. Let me beg of you to let me hear from you soon; indeed, there is not a man in the world I esteem more, or so much, as yourself; so once more, dear friend, adieu.

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APPENDIX.

THE

POEMS

OF

SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD, KNIGHT:

WITH THOSE WHICH WERE WRITTEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH HIM

BY

WILLIAM, THIRD EARL OF PEMBROKE.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

POEMS OF SIR B. RUDYERD.

In introducing the reprint of Rudyerd's Poems, together with such of Lord Pembroke's as were written in conjunction with him, the object the Editor had in view was merely to bring within one compass all he could find, either in print or manuscript, relative to the same individual; and not with any idea of establishing our author's name as one of the bright luminaries of Parnassus. The opinions expressed by Ben Jonson and his contemporaries upon the poetical merits of Sir Benjamin, however complimentary, will probably meet with but little accord from the present generation. The Editor's ideas upon this subject he has taken the liberty to commit to paper towards the commencement of these Memoirs, p. 21, where he has probably hazarded opinions upon a subject of which his inexperience must render him very incompetent to form a judgment, although he has twice presumptuously invaded the territory of the Muses. He cannot, how-

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ever, withhold the just meed of praise due to our author Rudyerd, for many beautiful ideas which are to be found in his poems; and in answer to the opinions of those who consider them unworthy the gravity and statesmanlike character of his parliamentary career, the Editor begs to remind them that almost all Rudyerd's poems were the effusions of his younger days, his speeches the efforts of maturer years. The lines upon seeing the Countess of Pembroke's picture are very neat, and the idea extremely pleasing. As an impromptu, they are equal to any thing in the nature of complimentary verse of the period. Donne, the son of the learned Dr. John Donne, dean of St. Paul's, the intimate friend and companion of Rudyerd, Ben Jonson, Walter Raleigh, and all the great men of his day, published Pembroke's and Rudyerd's Poems under the following title:—"Poems written by the Right Honourable William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of His Majesties Household; whereof many of which are answered by way of Repartee, by Sir Benjamin Ruddier, Knight: with several distinct Poems, written by them occasionally and apart. London: Printed by Matthew Monan, and are to be sold by James Magnes in Russel Street, near the Piazza in Covent Garden. 1660." But Sir Egerton Brydges has expressed an opinion that the lines beginning "Oh! faithless world," &c. attributed by Donne to Rudyerd, were written mostly by Sir Henry Wotton; and he gives as a reason the fact of their having been published in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," 1651. He admits, however, that several lines may have been added by Rudyerd, as they do not appear either in that work or Davison's "Rhapsody." Sir Egerton Brydges alludes particularly to

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the ninth and tenth couplets. It is not, however, a point of much importance whether they were wholly or partly written by Rudyerd, though some weight ought to be attached to the authority of Donne, who lived in their time, and no doubt was well acquainted with his father's intimate friends. The Editor received a very obliging communication from Dr. Bandinel, the Bodleian Librarian, upon this subject, for which he begs to express his grateful acknowledgments; the substance of which is confirmatory of Sir Egerton Brydges' opinion: added to which, the attribution of the greater part of the poem in question to Sir Henry Wotton, in Davison's "Rhapsody," published in 1602, in the lifetime of both parties, would turn the scale in favour of their conclusions. Still the great intimacy and lasting friendship which subsisted between Sir Henry Wotton and his travelling companion, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, during the long course of their lives, might favour the impression that this poem was the joint production of the two, which would justify its being attributed to either party.

There is a simplicity, a playfulness, and a deep, devotional feeling in the poem "On Tears," which must be appreciated by all who are not alike strangers to the sentiment and the position.

Rudyerd's Ballet is sprightly and amusing enough; and though it was no doubt refined for the period in which it was written, still there is a coarseness in it which does not well accord with the taste of the present age. The Editor does not, therefore, offer any apology for the omission of the fifth stanza, which is too gross for publication.

The poem on women, "Why do we love those things

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which we call women?" might be considered a bad specimen of Sir Benjamin's gallantry, were it not evident that he had taxed his ingenuity to the utmost to sing to their dispraise as a corrective to the ardour of his friend, Lord Pembroke, whose unbounded admiration of the fair sex (which, as Nature's most beauteous specimens, few can withhold) carried him to an excess which bid fair to destroy all his domestic happiness. The fickleness of women is severely handled in the third stanza; and the humorous manner of his conclusion, however undeserving the theme, is highly original.

The dialogue between Lord Pembroke as the man, and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd as the woman, "Be not proud," &c. is an agreeable trifle, in which the latter concludes by a moral reflection upon Pembroke's amorous doctrines.

Rudyerd's poem to a faithless mistress, "Why with unkindest swiftness dost thou turn?" is pointed and satirical; and though not altogether so chaste in its language as the poetry of this age, there is nothing of an offensive character in it.

The verses "On Jealousy" are in the nature of question and answer; by Lord Pembroke as questioner, and Rudyerd, to whom is invariably assigned the task of replying to his lordship's romantic ideas. The versification is far from euphonious in these lines, as well as in the pastoral, in which Pembroke assumes the character of a lover, and Rudyerd that of a shepherd: there is, however, a good deal of point in the latter poem. Rudyerd's ideas of friendship, though well expressed, and probably correct in the main, would, if adopted, render life but a solitary, if not a miserable

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existence. He advises, in these lines, the adoption of one friend, to whom man should be as true as to a wife; and he observes that he that has many pays for them in the end.

"Why slights thou her whom I approve?" This poem, by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, is stated in Donne's edition to have been "written by one that was a suitor to a gentlewoman more virtuous than fair, to a friend of his that disliked her;" the lady there alluded to was Miss Harrington, daughter of Sir Henry, next brother to John Lord Harrington of Exton, afterwards the wife of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. It is a pretty composition —the morality of which is indisputable—though the precedent is difficult of imitation. A paradox in praise of a painted woman is another of Rudyerd's severe satires upon the supposed employment of washes and rouges to supply Nature's fading colour, and fill up the wrinkles of destroying Time. The last which is given in this collection of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's poetical effusions are the lines written by him to King Charles I. when Prince of Wales, at his return from his romantic expedition to Spain with the Duke of Buckingham. There is something so strained and so unmusical in the composition, that it forces the conclusion that he had long given up all connexion with the Muses, and that a point of duty had alone impelled him to renew their acquaintance. The flattery is also so preposterous in such highly-wrought compliments to the prince, that, were there not too strong, yet too truly abhorrent evidences of the quantity of unmerited praise which even greater than he have been pleased to swallow, the natural good sense of man should induce him to reject such fulsome adulation as offensive to his better judgment. It was

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probably the last, and certainly the worst, of all his attempts.

With regard to the poems written by the Earl of Pembroke, and answered by Rudyerd in a spirit of repartee, it must be admitted that they are laboured, quaint, and often unmusical. To Rudyerd is assigned the more virtuous task of curbing his lordship's extravagant pretensions to the female heart, and the moral he inculcates is quite worthy of the general purity of his deportment through life, notwithstanding the lightness, or, according to our ideas at the present day, apparent childishness of the occupation. *Tempora mutantur*, and every allowance must be made for the perfectly different state of society, which, owing to the great spread of knowledge, places man on an equality in point of intellect. It cannot be denied that the people of this century would feel great astonishment were they to see advertised in *The Times* newspaper, "The Poems of the Lord High Steward, answered by way of Repartee by the Vice Chancellor," or other great dignitary of the law; but it must be borne in mind that poetry, in the sense in which we comprehend the term, was then in its infancy in this country, and none but the learned could indulge in so sublime a science. The Editor makes these observations in justification of the course he has taken — a course opposed to the opinions of several esteemed friends who were desirous of seeing a collection of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's speeches in Parliament, unencumbered by any matter of a trifling or unimportant nature which might distract the attention of the reader from the consideration of his arguments, and their applicability, in many instances, to the existing state of

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affairs. As a faithful historian, he cannot but think the poems as essential a portion of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's Memoirs as the speeches themselves; and he repeats that, in offering them, in this reprint of an old and exceedingly rare edition, he presents to the consideration of such as have not already perused them, not specimens of English poetry, but of the poetry of that period. He desires only further to observe, that he believes most, if not all, are from the pen of our author Rudyerd; and that this conclusion is not arrived at from the authority of Donne alone, but from the fact of the existing manuscripts bearing the autograph of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.

BY THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

AND

SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD.

PEMBROKE.

Shall Love, that gave Latona's heir the foil
(Proud of his archery, and Python's spoil),
And so enthrall'd him to a nymph's disdain,
As when his hopes were dead; he, full of pain,

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Made him above all trees the laurel grace;
An emblem of Love's glory—his disgrace?
Shall he, I say, be term'd a footboy now,
That made all powers in Heaven and Earth to bow?
Or is 't a fancy which themselves do frame,
And therefore dare baptize by any name;
A flaming straw, which one spark kindles bright,
And first hard breath out of itself doth fright;
Whose father was a smile, and death a frown,
Soon prov'd of little, and for less cast down?
'T is so, and this a lackey term you may;
For it runs off, and makes but shortest stay.
But thou, O Love! free from time's eating rust,
That sett 'st a limit unto boundless lust,
Making desire grow infinitely strong,
And yet to one chaste subject doth belong;
Bridling self-love, that flatters us in ease,
Quick'ning our wits to strive that they may please;
Fixing the wand'ring thoughts of straying youth;
The firmest band of faith, the knot of truth:
Thou that didst never lodge in worthless heart,
Thou art a master wheresoe'er thou art.
Thou mak'st food loathsome, sleep to be unrest;
Lost labour easeful, scornful looks a feast;
And when thou wilt, thy joys as far excell
All else, as when thou punishest, thy Hell:
Oh, make that rebel fell thy matchless power,
Thou that mad'st Jove a bull, a swan, a shower;
Give him a Love as tyrannous as fair,
That his desire go yoked with despair!
Live in her eyes, but in her frozen heart
Let no thaw come that may have sense of smart.
Let her a constant silence never break,
Till he do wish repulse to hear her speak.

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And last, such sense of error let him have,
As he may never dare for mercy crave!
Then none will more capitulate with thee,
But of their hearts will yield the empire free.

RUDYERD.

No praise it is that him who Python slew,
Love at his own tried weapon did subdue;
To all clear minds it doth most clearly prove,
The greatest monster of the two was Love.
O, what a wretched power is that! and strange
To be invok'd, which hath such power to change
Our heavenly part into a beast, a tree;
Things which sensual still, or senseless be!
He that so well is read in Love's brave story,
And is so jealous of his waining glory,
How could he omit (like a young beginner)
Hercules the strong, Love's valiant spinner?
But what boots it his famous acts to name,
When in them lies conceal'd his greater shame?
For this declares that (at his cheapest rate)
He always makes a man effeminate —
And whosoever loves, he down doth bring
From that he was, into some meaner thing;
Shews him ridiculous to standers-by,
And quite bereaves him of perceiving why.
Now, why should Love a footboy's place despise,
When higher than the earth he doth not rise?
And I have often seen his greatness trudge
In little errands, like a worthless drudge:
I will send him at any time a mile,
To fetch me thence the meaning of a smile,
A look, a not-look, a silence, a frown:
For privatives he 'll lackey up and down;

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Yet, let no man believe what he doth say;
False answers still he coineth by the way:
'T is well if he this title high can keep;
For where Love cannot go, 't is known he 'll creep:
And fit it is the rule which he hath got
From reason, by a base usurping pot,
By under means, should likewise be maintain'd:
Power evermore is held as it is gain'd.
Base Love, the stain of Youth, the scorn of Age,
The folly of a man, a woman's rage,
Order's confounder, Secret's light discloser,
Disturber of all sorts, a king's disposer;
The canker of a froward wit thou art,
The business of an idle, empty heart;
The rack of jealousy and sad mistrust,
The smooth and justified excuse of lust;
The thief which wastes the taper of our life,
The quiet name of restless jars and strife;
The fly which doth corrupt and quite distaste
All happiness, if thou therein be cast;
The greatest and the most conceal'd impostor
That ever vain Credulity did foster:
A mountebank, extolling trifles small;
A juggler, playing loose (not fast) with all;
An alchymist, whose promises are gold,
Payment but dross, and hope at highest sold; —
This, — this is Love, and worse than I can say.
Where he a master is, and bears the sway,
He guides like Phaëton, burns and destroys,
Parches, and stifles what else would be joys.
But when clear Reason sitteth in the throne,
Governs his beams (which otherwise are none
But darts and mischief), then sun-like he
Doth actuate, produce, ripen, and free

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From grossness those good seeds which in us lie,
Till then (as in a grave) and there would die.
All high perfections, in a perfect lover,
His warmth doth cherish, and his light discover:
He gives an even temper of delight
Without a minute's loss; no fears affright,
Nor interrupt the joys such Love doth bring;
Nor no enjoying can dry up the spring.
Unto another he lends out our pleasure,
That (with the use) it may come home a treasure —
Pure link of bodies, where no lust controuls
The fatness and security of souls;
Sweetest path of life, Virtue in full sail,
Fresh-budding Hope, whose fruit doth never fail —
To this dear Love I do not rebel stand;
Though not employed, yet ready at command.
But as for him, who in his fit did curse
And rave at me, I cannot wish him worse
Than he already doth appear to be,—
Full of distemper in extreme degree:
In this hard state he rather needeth prayer,
His strong deluded fancy to repair.
Wherefore, O Reason high! thou who art king
Of the world's king, and dost in order bring
The wild affections, which so often swerve
From the just rule, and rebel Passion serve;
Thou, without whose light Love's fire is smoke,
Puts out our eyes and mind, all true sense doth choke,
Restore this man unto himself again;
Send him a lively feeling of his pain;
Give him a healthy and discerning taste
Of food, and rest, that he may rise at last,
By strength of thee, from this strange, strong disease,
Wherein the danger is, that it doth please.

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What help for him who takes his sickness' part?
It must be only thy great work, and art!
Provide him, also, of thy sober hand,
A thrifty course of breath, which long may stand;
Lest he in sighs do prodigally spend,
Before one loving moon do change and end,
More than would find him life for many years,
If he were rid of these false-seeming fears.
Grant this, O Reason, at his deep request,
Who never lov'd to see thy power suppress.
And now to you, Sir Love, your love I crave;
Of you no mastery I desire to have:
But that we may, like honest friends, agree,
Let us to Reason fellow-servants be.

PEMBROKE.

It is enough; a master you grant Love
At one weapon: 't was all I sought to prove;
For worth, not weakness, makes him use but one;
While that subdues all strength, all art alone.
I studied not examples in this kind;
They were far harder to avoid than find:
And that to worthless forms Love changeth us,
Makes not him blush, nor is ridiculous.
For in his wars Love diversely proceeds;
Sometime by force, sometimes by sleight he speeds.
When he will force, then arms he his to fight
In strength of merit, riches of delight:
But when by stratagems he means surprise,
His men in forms more mean he will disguise:
Not bearing to the forms themselves respect,
But careful to avoid his foes suspect:
And when as this with jests their wits are worn,
Do lovers or the laughers bear the scorn?

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But, O! how finely with yourself you play,
When with this quick conceit you run away;
That you make Love to lackey up and down
To fetch the meaning of a smile or frown:
Alas! in these slight errands he sends you,
Wherein your powers trudge as if they flew,
Making the best which to his pleasure tends,
A thing wherein your weal or wo depends.
Nor plots he to dissolve, by feign'd delight,
Over the senses, Reason's sovereign right;
But Reason finding Love to rule more fit,
She doth that government to him commit;
And so 'twixt these there is no factious strife;
Love here the husband is, Reason the wife;
Not grudging at her husband's active sway,
But thinks she rules so just laws to obey:
And Love this title high, thus got, may keep,
A thread-bare proverb cannot make him creep.
And for that rabble of confused names,
Which to Love's charge you lay, as better blames,
They touch not him; he, in himself divine,
To falsehood nor to weakness can incline,
If not disfigured by our fleshy mask,
As wine corrupted by a faulty cask.
He is no mountebank, his wares do reach
Beyond the setting forth of any speech,
Nor alchymist, but that elixir old
Which turns Love's mercury to Friendship's gold.
And so the rest wherewith you stain his name
Will turn, considered rightly, to his fame.
I do not sever Love from Reason's law,
But say that they in one sweet yoke do draw;
Nor let your wit dissention strive to make,
When they in joint command such pleasure take.

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As for the joys which from these join'd do flow,
To be beyond expression I do know;
So may they fall on you from Love's large hand,
If to this Love you do not rebel stand;
And we in one opinion shall agree,
If both to both may fellow-servants be.
For me, if sceptic-like you will dispute,
And what I feel in heart, with words refute,
Go on, and laugh at Love's commending fire,
Till you cannot your scorched self retire.
My curse a blessing was, your prayer a curse;
For not to Love, than scorn in love is worse.
O, let sighs prodigally spend my breath,
My sufferings doubled be, until my death;
So but in one kind look they her engage:
One hour so liv'd is longer than an age.

RUDYERD.

Not like a sceptic equally distract,
Nor like a sophister of sleights compact,
Nor to vie wit (a vanity of youth),
Nor for the love of victory, but truth,
The lists again I enter, bold assur'd,
Within my cause's right strongly immur'd.
Man unto man both text and comment is:
They that best read this character of his,
His body, and they that most understand
The sense thereof, his soul, do both command.
This as a firm rule infallibly true,
Not be chang'd for one more weak, more new;
That Reason holds the head and highest part;
The affections lower are placed in the heart,
To shew that they must serve and still obey;
Reason must ruler be, and bear the sway.

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From this pure fountain see how pure the streams
Do run, from this bright sun how fair the beams!
Anger, whilst he a servant true persisteth,
Whetteth mild Justice' sword; Valour assisteth:
But when his power to himself he taketh,
He naught but brawls, and wars, and slaughters maketh;
Furthereth revenge, injustice, wrong, and hate;
Nothing but blood his fury can abate:
And that but for a while; for hot and dry,
He thirsteth oft, as oft for blood doth cry.
And so of all the affections of the mind,
When them we do in due obedience find,
Great helps they are, and ministers of good;
But else to vice a fierce and headlong brood.
What privilege beyond the rest hath Love?
Shew his exemption, and his freedom prove:
Is he no affection? then is he worse:
A passion, the body's waster, mind's curse.
As long as he to Reason yields subjection,
He is the best and principal affection;
Effects most good, the cement, band, and tie
Of human fellowship, wherein doth lie
All the dear comforts which make life a life:
Without whose influence, nothing but strife
Would bring us together, or we should live
Straggling alone, and no account could give
That e'er we had been here; with us would die
(Summ'd in our deaths) life of posterity.
When best things are corrupt, they most are so;
Love once defeated doth most traitor grow,
And works 'gainst Reason with more violence
Than all the rest, and with more smooth pretence:
I need not here repeat, will not enlarge,
His faults; I lothly take 'gainst Love that charge;

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I only say that Reason is his king;
And Love, at highest, is his underling.
You do confess, or truth doth it extort,
That Reason sovereign is in dearest sort;
Committing unto Love the sense's state,
Which shews Love's power is but subordinate:
But then, again, where would you end the strife?
Making Love the husband, Reason the wife,
You begin anew; Error hath no stay;
Runs infinitely on, but not one way;
Crosseth itself, finding no resting-place;
Appeareth always with another face;
Increaseth faster, and doth multiply
Beyond the speed of any spawnèd fry.
Truth is still one, its own centre and end,
Still like itself, and to itself a friend:
Who gave the soul's abstract intelligences;
Bodies and sex (nearer to bring the senses
Acquainted with them and their high enjoy)
Made Love a lasting and perpetual boy;
Still in minority, never of age,
Because to govern he is most unfit,
By non-age, fair excuse, they him acquit.
    Nature's best observers, the wise Egyptians,
In their abstruse and mystical descriptions,
Did of each element two sexes frame,
Which yet (for marriage sake) had but one name.
Of fire, the mastering heat, they made the male;
The female, what was flaming, weak, and pale:
Of air, the man was active, bustling wind;
The rainy weeping clouds, of woman kind;
The deep and boundless sea was masculine;
The shallow, slender rivers, feminine;

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Of earth, the constant rocky part was he,
The gentle, yielding, tilled vein a she.
So in the soul, understanding, and will,
Betwixt themselves hold such proportion still
As male and female: he strongly imprints
Upon her easiness; she never stints,
But straight pursues with ready inclination,
Or quickly shuns with shrinking aversation:
As is the object he begets on her,
So her desires do duly move and stir.
What else is Reason (to be more exact),
But the redoubled and reflected act
Of understanding? What th' affections,
But the agitations and ejections
Of will, where Love is one? as all may see,
To Reason born a servant by degree.
If you in aught conformity had held
With Nature's course, and not 'gainst all rebell'd,
But Reason husband, Love for wife had meant,
I straight to be at peace had given consent;
Not thought it strange, but should been well a-paid,
That Reason now had married her handmaid;
In hope that she, in duty for that honour
Which he in grace had thus bestowed upon her,
Would strive by all obedience to appear
More lovely in his eyes, and still more dear.
Thus, having made it safe that every way
Love must, as a servant or as a wife, obey,
I here might rest against Truth's brazen wall,
And not regard the drops which on it fall.
Yet will I wipe away, as they do lie,
Some spots which you have dash'd in passing by;
And first, that Love doth hurt and overthrow,
Doth him no master make but monster shew:

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A master's strength preserves a monster's spoils ;
It is the use that force from vice assoils.
Strange things of wars and stratagems you tell,
And little business with great words doth swell.
What helps 'twixt Truth and me this grave formality,
Love is a sneaking, corner-seeking quality,
Which hates the light, chooseth false times and shapes,
To make his drifts to cover his escapes ;
And when he is descried, his vizard torn,
He proves a lucky jest, a fertile scorn.
Love sends not me, nor need I vainly go,
To fetch the meanings which I always know;
Her single heart is one, and one to me
Dares shew itself, it is so clean, so free.
From thence such warrant have I of her smiles,
That I mistrust them not for glittering wiles ;
But know, when the deep channel of her heart
With joy is over-fill'd, it doth impart
Some to the banks, and flows into her face,
Which leaves thereon a fresh and springing grace.
Her frowns I know not what, nor that they are :
When Reason rules, Love feasts on no such fare ;
Tastes nought but what is pure and truly sweet ;
Then bodies do but bring the souls to meet.
Who light shines through, and all within discovers,
No thought lies hid 'twixt such belovèd lovers.
Sly reservations, shuffling excuses,
Minced favours, made frowns, welcome abuses,
Lose then their use, and have at all no place ;
When Love is master they have only grace.
A proverb's proof is not so soon put off
By slight neglect or by a mighty scoff,
Whose truth his lips hath hitherto maintain'd,
And through so many ages credit gain'd.

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They are the quintessence of truths, extract
From vulgar use, and of such strength compact
That they have lived (indeed) in living men,
Since many volumes writ by mortal pen
Are dead and gone, and more to ruin tend,
Whilst these from sire to son do still descend.
Nor needs it as a fault be here excused,
That I express'd a nature most confused
In terms so like itself; for Love, once gone
From Reason, hath no hold to rest upon.
But our unseason'd flesh you rather blame,
Which unto me doth fast appear the same,
As if you should condemn the mire, not swine,
Who love to wallow there, and think it fine.
Likewise the friendship which such love doth breed,
Doth end in hate, both of themselves and deed.
Whenever you can Love to Reason marry,
I will not from that happy wedding tarry;
So that you sex them right by Nature's law,
But yield them all the service, fear and awe,
Which unto such a king and queen belong,
Whose force will so united grow more strong.
I mean not to deny, had rather cure
The pangs your heart infected doth endure;
And for Love's scorching fits, I fear them not;
Reason or Love shall be my antidote;
But not to love, than scorn in love is worse:
This baseness is to men the greatest curse.
A scorn no being hath cannot proceed
From an inferior in word or deed:
How can we so unman ourselves, and fall
Beneath that creature which was made of all
Next under us, to be more evident,
Who stands as he was born, cannot consent?

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Bad usage soon would force my heart to turn,
And make the fire of love to anger burn;
But you do all so willingly abide,
As that your ease would be the sicker side.
A small reward will your contentment give,
When but a phœnix-death you wish to live,
Where may you burn in flames both short and sweet—
Thus, since our wills will not, our prayers meet.

PEMBROKE.

Men, sad and settled, love not to contend;
Dispute my wounds may vex, but never mend;
If Love had pleased, I might have tasted joy
In as full measure as I prove annoy:
But princes shew on some their power, their grace
On some, and both without control do place
Me of the first. O, me! Love kept in store,
When to that cruel fair he gave me o'er,
In whom all worth so eminent appears,
As her disdain, the stile of justice bears;
And thus with me Love played a master-part,
When with one choice he hurt and pleased my heart;
For, than I am let me more wretched prove,
If her (howe'er unkind) I leave to love;
Thus, to be fond of scorn, you sickness call;
In truth 'tis I, to love my Lord am thrall;
'Tis he that makes me find these wonders true;
And he may work the same as well in you:
For e'en in your sound health I find this strife;
Love late was Reason's lackey, now his wife.
But to conclude debate; whilst you are free,
You may make Love even what you list to be;
As those that will describe an unknown land,
Place cities, rivers, hills, where none do stand;

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Even so you deal with Love, and straight will know
How far he shoots that never felt his bow;
One day you may, and then confess with me,
You love his fetters more than to be free.

RUDYERD.

Nor will I now your wound exulcerate,
But rather grieve at your deplored estate;
Yet must I not myself so much forsake
As not to shew wherein you me mistake.
For peace and you I was content to find
How Love and Reason might be near combin'd;
But not their natures alter or confound,
Nor I remove at all from my first ground
Of new obedience, which just Love doth owe
To Reason, though it should to highest grow:
'T was not well done of you, thus to object
That which I did for you in your respect;
Beside, your argument is drawn amiss,
From that which may be unto that which is.
I did not Love for Reason's wife avow,
But only gave it possible; and how
That I am disengaged, untouch'd, and free,
Makes me of Love the fitter judge to be;
Self-interest doth so corrupt and blind
The clearness quite, and sadness of the mind,
That justice still to it hath borne a grudge,
Nor law allows a party to be judge;
In what we earnest are, ourselves we lease;
A looker-on more than a gamester sees.
To say my heart was maim'd in Cupid's wars,
And pity beg by shewing of my scars,
Or tell what losses I have had by fire,
Doth sure a weaker heart than mine require:

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Yet have I loved, and may do so again;
A strong link I have been in that fair chain
Which you a fetter call, and rightly too,
But what a breaking link did we undo;
You pierce me deep to say I never loved,
When it by so much truth hath been approved;
Yet for all this we will not disagree;
Each lover thinks none ever loved but he.

IMPROMPTU

ON THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE'S PICTURE.

Here (though the lustre of her youth be spent)
Are curious steps to see where beauty went;
And for the wonders in her mind that dwell,
It lies not in the power of pens to tell:
But could she but bequeath them when she dies,
She might enrich her sex by legacies!

VERSES

MADE BY SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD.

Oh! faithless world! and thy most faithless part,
A woman's heart:
The true shop of variety, where sits
Nothing but fits
And fevers of desire, and pangs of love,
Which toys remove.

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Why was she born to please, or I to trust
Words writ in dust?
Suffering her looks to govern my despair;
My pain for air;
And fruit of time rewarded with untruth,
The food of youth.
Untrue she was, yet I believed her eyes;
Instructed spies;
Till I was taught that love is but a school
To breed a fool.
Or was it absence that did make her strange,
Base flower of change?
Or sought she more than triumphs of denial,
To see a trial,
How far her smiles commanded in my weakness,
Yield and confess.
Excuse not now thy folly nor her nature,
Blush and endure,
As well thy shame as passions that were vain;
And think thy gain,
To know that Love, lodged in a woman's heart,
Is but a guest.

OF TEARS.

Who would have thought there could have been
Such joy in tears wept for our sin?
Mine eye hath seen, my heart hath proved,
The most and best of earthly joys;
The sweets of love, and being loved,
Masks, feasts, and plays, and suchlike toys:

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Yet this one tear which now doth fall
In true delight exceeds them all.

Indeed, mine eyes at first let in
Those guests that did these woes begin:
Therefore mine eyes in tears and grief
  Are justly drown'd; but that these tears
Should comfort bring, 't is past belief.
  O God! in this thy grace appears;
Thou that mak'st light from darkness spring,
Mak'st joys to weep, and sadness sing.

O, where am I! what may I think!
Help, help! alas! my heart doth sink:
    Thus toss'd in seas of woe,—
      Thus laden with my sin,
      Waves of despair dash in,
    And threat mine overthrow.
What heart, oppress'd with such a weight,
Can choose but sink, and perish straight?

Yet, as at sea in storms, men choose
The ship to save, their goods to lose;
    So, in this fearful storm,
      This danger to prevent,
      Before all hope be spent,
    I 'll choose the lesser harm.
My tears to seas I will convert,
And drown mine eyes to save my heart.

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B. R.

HIS BALLET.

SINCE every man I come among
Sings praises of his choice,
I 'll make my love some pretty song,—
She 'll fit it for her voice.

As for descent and birth in her,
You see before you seek,
The house of York and Lancaster
United in her cheek.

I have a bracelet of her hair;
I have a riband, too:
The Fleece and Garter never were
Such orders as these two.

My mind unto her once I broke,
And whisper'd in her ear
A tale of love, — an easy yoke,
Which far her betters bear,—

And told her * * *
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I gave her homely country gloves;
She took them as th' were meant;
For those as well can shew men's loves
As can a Spanish scent.

I told her that poor Modesty
Was out of fashion quite:
She said that proof look'd like a lie,
And did my reason slight.

I said the thing for which I woo
Is pain, and not desire;
She said 't was work each man could do,
And take it for his hire.

So when those ways I hoped would wean
Her from her fond intent;
The fool replied, she did not mean
To sin by precedent.

ON WOMEN.

(RUDYERD.)

WHY do we love these things which we call women,
Which are like feathers blown with every wind,
Regarding least those which do most esteem them,
And most deceitful when they seem most kind;
And all the virtue that their beauty graces,
It is but painted like unto their faces?

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Their greatest glory is in rich attire,
Which is extracted from some hopeful livers,
Whose arts and wealth are bent to their desire,
When they regard the gift more than the givers;
And to increase their hopes of future bliss,
They 'll sometimes stretch their conscience for a kiss.

Some love the winds that bring in golden flowers,
And some are merely won with commendation;
Some love and hate, and all within two hours;
And that 's a fault among them most in fashion:
But put them all within a scale together,
Their worth in weight will scarce pull down a feather.

And yet I would not discommend them all
If I did know some worth to be in any:
'T is strange, that since the time of Adam's fall,
That God did make none good, and made so many:
And if he did, for those I truly mourn,
Because they died before that I was born.

AN OPPORTUNITY NEGLECTED.

YET was her beauty as the blushing rose,†

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† The language of this poem is not suited to the taste of this age. —ED.

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DIALOGUE BETWEEN LORD PEMBROKE

AS THE MAN,

AND SIR BENJAMIN RUDYERD

AS THE WOMAN.

MAN.

Be not proud 'cause fair and trim;
But let those lips be basted:
Those eyes will hollow prove, and dim;
That lip and brow be wasted.
And to love, who 'll be persuaded,
Sullied flowers or beauty faded?

WOMAN.

Could rose or lily purer be,
'Cause they smell'd or look'd like me?
Yet pride should never reach my mind;
But beauty, though it useless lie,
Is kept from stains by being laid by:
So 't is better to be chaste than kind.

MAN.

Oh! thou art soft as is the air,
Or the words that court the fair.
Then let those flames by lovers felt,
That scorch'd my heart, make thine to melt.

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WOMAN.

Thy words are sweet as is deceit;
Sugar'd as the lover's bait;
And do whisper in mine ear,
Love makes bargains sweet, but dear.

MAN.

Thou know'st not, then, that all the fair
Give youth to love, and age to prayer?

WOMAN.

'T is a doctrine cannot be
Sound in you or safe in me.

LINES

ON A FAITHLESS MISTRESS.

Why with unkindest swiftness dost thou turn
From me, whose absence thou didst truly mourn;
Of which thou mad'st me such a seeming view,
As unbelievers would have thought it true?
We have been private, and thou know'st of me,
(Which is ev'n all) as much as I of thee:
Dost thou remember? Let me call t' account
That pleasant garden, and that leafy mount,

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Whose top is with an open arbour crown'd.
Dost thou remember, O securest Beauty!
Where of thy own free motion, more than duty,
And unrequired, thou solemnly didst swear,
Of which avenging Heaven can witness bear,
That from the time thou gav'st thyself to me
Thou couldst maintain a spotless chastity;
And unprofaned by any second hand,
From sport and Love's delight removed stand,
'Till I, whose absence seemingly was mourn'd,
Should from a foreign kingdom be return'd?
Of this thou mad'st religion and an oath.
But see the frailty of a woman's troth;
Scarce had the sun, to many rooms assign'd,
Been thrice within the changeful waves confin'd;
And I scarce three days' journey from thine eyes,
When thou new love in thy heart didst devise;
And gav'st the reliques of thy virgin head,
Upon the easiest prayer that could be said.
'T is true I left thee to a dangerous age,
Where vice, in angel's shape, does title wage
With ancient virtue, both disguising so,
That hardly weaker eyes can either know.
Besides, I left thee in the hour of fears,
And in the covetous spring of all thy years:
What time a beauty, that hath well begun,
Asks other than the solace of a nun?
But since thy wanton soul so dear did prize
The game, that thou for it didst underprize
Thy faith, and all that to good fame belongs,
Couldst thou not cover it from common tongues,
But cheapest eyes must see thee do amiss?
My rhymes, that won thee, never taught thee this.

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Thou might'st have wandered in the paths of love,
And neither leafless hill nor shady grove
Have been unpressèd by thy wanton weight;
Yet though thought honest, hadst thou used sleight!
Much care and business hath the chastest dame
To guard herself from undeserved blame;
What artifice and cunning then must serve
To colour them that just reproof deserve?
'T is not a work for every woman's wit,
And the less marvel thou neglectedst it.
That which amazes me the most is this,
That, having never trodden but amiss,
And done me wrongs, that do as much deny
To suffer measure as infinity,
When I approach, thou turn'st thy head awry,
As if sore eyes and scorn could satisfy.
Can second wrongs the former expiate,
And work them out of memory and date?
Or teach me ill in human precepts durst,
That second wrongs can expiate the first?
Thou art malicious as incontinent,
And might'st have met with such patient,
Whose wrongèd virtue, to just rage invited,
Would have reveng'd and in thy dust delighted;
But I, that have no gall, when once I love,
And whom no great thing under heaven can move,
Am well secured from Fortune's weak alarms,
And free from apprehension as from harms.
Thus do I leave thee to the multitude,
That on my leaving hastily intrude.
Enjoy thou many, or rejoice in one,
I was before them, and before me none.

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ON BLACK HAIR AND EYES.

If shadows be the picture's excellence,
And make them seem more lively to the sense;
If stars in the bright day are lost from sight,
And seem most glorious in the mask of night;
Why would you think (rare creature) that you lack
Perfection, 'cause your hair and eyes are black?
Or that your heavenly beauty, that exceeds
The new-sprung lilies in their maiden heads,
The damask colour of your cheeks and lips,
Should suffer by their darkness an eclipse?
Rich diamonds shine brightest, being set
And compassèd within a foil of jet.
Nor was it fit that Nature should have made
So bright a sun to shine without some shade.
It seems that Nature, when she first did fancy
Your rare composure, studied necromancy,
That when to you this gift she did impart,
She altogether used the blacker art;
By which infused power, from magic took,
You do command all spirits with a look.
She drew those magic circles in your eyes,
And made your hair the chain wherewith she ties
Rebelling hearts; those blue veins, which appear
Winding meanders about either sphere,
Mysterious figures are: and when you list,
Your voice commandeth as the exorcist.

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Oh! if in magic you have power so far,
Vouchsafe me to be your familiar.

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OF JEALOUSY.

(*Questioner*, PEMBROKE. *Answerer*, RUDYERD.)

Ques. From whence was first this Fury hurl'd,
This Jealousy into the world?
Came she from hell? No: there doth reign
Eternal Hatred with Disdain:
But she the daughter is of Love,
Sister of Beauty. *Resp.* Then above
She must derive from the third sphere
Her heavenly offspring. *Ans.* Neither there,
From those immortal flames could she
Draw her cold, frozen pedigree.
Ques. If not in heaven, nor hell, where then
Had she her birth? *Ans.* I' th' hearts of men.
Beauty and Fear did her create,
Younger than Love, elder than Hate;
Sister to both,—by Beauty's side
To Love, by Fear to Hate allied.

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Despair her issue is, whose race
Of frightful issues drowns the space
Of the wide earth, in a swoln flood
Of wrath, revenge, spite, rage, and blood.
Ques. Oh! how can such a spurious line
Proceed from parents so divine?
Ans. As streams which from the crystal spring
Do sweet, and clear, their waters bring;
Yet mingling with the brackish main,
Nor taste, nor colour they retain.
Ques. Yet rivers 'twixt their own banks flow
Still fresh; can Jealousy do so?
Ans. Yes: while she keeps the steadfast ground
Of Hope, and Fear, her equal bound:
Hope sprung from favour, worth, or chance,
Towards the fair object doth advance;
Whilst Fear, as watchful sentinel,
Doth the invading foe repel:
And Jealousy, thus mix'd, doth prove
The season and the salt of Love.
But when Fear takes a larger scope,
Stifling the child of Reason, Hope;
Then sitting in the usurp'd throne,
She, like a tyrant, rules alone,
As the wild ocean unconfined,
And raging as the northern wind.

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LOVER.

(PEMBROKE.)

SHEPHERD, gentle shepherd, hark!
As one that canst call rightest
Birds by their name,
Both wild and tame,
And in their notes delightest!
What voice is this, I pray thee mark,
With so much music in it?
Too sweet, methinks, to be a lark,
Too loud to be a linnet.

Nightingales are more confused,
And descant more at random,
Whose warbling throats,
To hold our notes,
Their airy tunes abandon.
Angels stoop not now-a-days,
Such quiristers forsake us;
Yet syrens may
Our loves betray,
And wretched prisoners make us;
Yet they must use some other ways
Than singing to deprive us
Of our poor lives, since such sweet lays
As these would soon revive us.

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Shepherd. RUDYERD.

'Tis not syren we descry,
Nor bird in grove residing;
Nor angel's voice,
Although as choice,
Fond boy, thou hear'st dividing;
But one, if either thou or I
Should face to face resemble her,
To any of these would blushing cry,
Away, away, Dissembler!

ON FRIENDSHIP.

FRIENDSHIP on earth we may as easily find,
As he the north-east passage that is blind;
'T is not unlike th' imaginary stone
That tatter'd chymists long have doted on:
Sophisticate affection is the best
This age affords, no friend abides the test;
They make a glorious show, a little space,
But tarnish in the rain like copper-lace.
Or nealled in affliction but one day,
They smoke, and stink, and vapour quite away.
We miss the true materials, choosing friends;
On virtue we project not, but our ends.
So, by degrees, when we embrace so many,
We courted are like w——s, not loved by any:

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Good turns ill placed, that we on all men heap,
Are seeds of that ingratitude we reap:
And he that is so sweet he none denies,
Was made of honey for the nimble flies.
Choose one of two companions of thy life;
Then be as true as thou would'st have a wife.
Though he live joyless that enjoys no friend,
He that hath many, pays for 't in the end.

OF DEFORMITY IN MAN.

What if rude Nature hath less care exprest
About thy shape, or wantonly in jest
Composed thee? or maliciously in despight?
Or lame with her left hand, or without light?
Be but as bold; thou may'st as well find grace,
As one that hath the most corrected face,
Or levell'd trunk, whose neatness to beget
A tailor, and a barber's virtue met
Upon a sempster; for a woman's eye
Seldom betrays her heart to cemetry.
But some ill-favour'd thought, that bears more sway
To foulest hope, ofttimes prepares a way
Either that beauty fairest doth appear,
When some deformèd object's planted near!
Or sovereignty (at which they chiefly aim)
Is then most absolute when men claim
Least favour: he who hopes or strives t'approve
His person, doth submit and yield to love
Upon conditions; but that man whose state,
Himself consider'd, seems quite desperate,

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Stoops to all usage, and will live or die,
To serve, or suffer under tyranny.
Some of these reasons, or some else unknown,
It may be more, or it may be none.

A POSY FOR A NECKLACE.

Lo! on my neck whilst this I bind,
For to hang him that steals my mind;
Unless he hang alive in chains,
I hang and die in lingering pains.
Those threads enjoy a double grace,
Both by the gem and by the place.

VERSES,

WRITTEN BY ONE THAT WAS A SUITOR TO A GENTLEWOMAN MORE VIRTUOUS THAN FAIR, TO A FRIEND OF HIS THAT DISLIKED HER. THE LADY HERE ALLUDED TO WAS MISS HARRINGTON, AFTERWARDS LADY RUDYERD.

Why slight'st thou her whom I approve?
Thou art no peer to try my love,
Nor canst discern where her form lies,
Unless thou saw'st her with my eyes.
Say she were foul, or blacker than
The night, or sun-burnt Indian,

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Yet, rated in my fancy, she
Is so as she appears to me:
It is not feature, nor a face,
That doth my free election grace;
Nor is my fancy only led
By a well-temper'd white and red;
Could I enamour'd be on those,
The lily and the blushing rose
United in one stock might be
As dear unto my thoughts as she.
But I search further, and do find
A richer treasure in her mind,
Where something is so lasting fair,
That Art nor Age cannot impair.
Hadst thou a perspective so clear,
That thou couldst view my object there;
When thou her virtue shall espy,
Then wonder, and confess that I
Had cause to like her; and learn thence
To love by judgment, not by sense.

A PARADOX,

IN PRAISE OF A PAINTED WOMAN.

Nor kiss! by Love, I must! and make impression;
As long as Cupid dares to hold his session
Upon my flesh of blood, our kisses shall
Outminute time, and without number fall!
Do I not know these balls of blushing red,
Which on thy cheeks thus amorously be spread,

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Thy sinewy neck, those veins upon thy brow,
Which with their azure wrinkles sweetly bow,
Are artful borrowed, and no more thine own
Than chains, which on St. George's day are shown,
Are proper to the wearer; yet for this
I idol thee, and beg a luscious kiss:
The Fucus and Ceruse, which on thy face
Thy cunning hand lays on to add new grace,
Deceive me with such pleasing fraud, that I
Find in thy art what can in Nature lie.
Much like a painter, that upon some wall
On which the splendent sunbeams use to fall,
Paints with such art a gilded butterfly,
That silly maids, with slow-moved fingers, try
To catch it, and then blush at their mistake,
Yet of this painted fly much reckoning make:
Such is our state, since *that* we look upon
Is naught but colour and proportion.
Take me a face as full of fraud and lies
As gipsies, or your running lotteries;
That is more false, or more sophisticate,
Than are saints' reliques or a man of state;
Yet such being glazed by the sleight of art
Gains admiration, — wins in many a heart;
But case there be a difference in the mould,
Yet may thy Venus be more choice, and hold
A dearer treasure: oftentimes we see
Rich Candian wines in wooden bowls to be.
The odoriferous civet doth not lie
Within the musk-cat's nose, or ear, or eye,
But in a baser place: for prudent Nature,
In drawing up of various forms and stature,
Gives, from the curious shop of her rich treasure,
To fair parts comeliness, — to baser, pleasure.

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The fairest flowers which in spring do grow,
Are not so much for use as for the show;—
As lilies, hyacinth, and gorgeous birth
Of all pied flowers which diaper the earth,
Please more, with their discolour'd purple train,
Than wholesome pot-herbs, which for use remain.
Shall I a gaudy, speckled serpent kiss,
Because the colour that he wears is his?
A perfumed cordavant who will wear,
For that his scent is borrow'd otherwhere?
The robes and vestiments which grace us all
Are not our own, but adventitial.
Time rifles Nature's beauty, but sly Art
Repairs by cunning this decaying part;
Fills here a wrinkle, and there purls a vein,
And with her cunning hand runs o'er again
The breaches dented in the arm of time,
And makes deformity to be no crime;
As when great men are griped with sickness' hand,
Industrious physic frequently doth stand
To patch up foul diseases, and doth strive
To keep their tottering carcases alive:
Beauty a candle is, which every puff
Blows out, and leaves naught but a stinking snuff
To fill our nostrils with: this boldly think,
Your clearest candle yields the greatest stink;
As your pure food, and choicest nutriment,
Yields the most hot and nose-strong excrement.
Why hang we, then, on things so apt to vary,—
So fleeting, brittle, and so temporary?
That agues, coughs, tooth-aches, and catarrh,
Slight touches of diseases, spoil or mar:
But when old age their beauty hath in chase,
And ploughs up furrows in their own smooth face,

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Then they become forsaken, and do show,
Like stately abbeys ruin'd long ago.
Nature but gives the model and first draught
Of fair complexion, which by Art is taught
To speak itself a complete form and birth;
So stands a copy to the shapes on Earth.
Love grants me then a reparable face,
Which, whilst that colours are, can want no grace;
Pygmalion's painted statue I could love,
So it were warm, and soft, and could not move.

BENJ. RUDYERD TO THE PRINCE AT HIS RETURN FROM SPAIN.

Sir, such my fate was, that I had no store
T' erect a goodly pile before my door;
Nor were my flagons tir'd by being taught
Their several stages up and down the vault,
Upon the great bless'd day of your return,
Nothing wherein at all was seen to mourn,
Except it were the heavens; and well they might,
Fearing our triumphs should outshine their light:
So open-hearted men were, as 't had been
No point of faith to think excess a sin.
The poor man trick'd himself with wine that day,
And did not fear to make his landlord stay;
The tradesman shut his shop, and did not care
For the retailing of his neglected ware;
For well he knew there landed on the shore
A prize that him and all the isle might store.

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The inland liver, that could never find
The east from west but by a church, nor wind
In his life's compass ever yet did know,
But that which to his summer fruit's a foe,
Was better learn'd; and now he knew by art
What fill'd your sails, and what wind fill'd his heart:
I that have sense of blessings cannot show,
In outward things, the joy that I do owe;
And thanks to Heaven for your safe return:
Yet have a fire within them that do burn
As bright as theirs, which never shall decay
Till Fate assign to me a further day.

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GENEALOGY

OF THE

RUDYERDS OF RUDYERD,

IN STAFFORDSHIRE, AND OF WESTWOODHAY, COUNTY OF BERKS.

Wolfridus or Wolfred, Lord of Rudyerd, near Leek in Staffordshire, *temp.* Canute the Dane, in 1030, and Edward the Confessor, left issue Adamus or Adam, who was six years old at his father's decease. He inherited the estates, consisting of Rudyerd Hall, the village of Rudyerd, with the lordship and advowson of Leek; but after the conquest, William I. divided them amongst his Norman followers, with the exception of a portion which, as appears by the following entry in "Doomsday Book," he reserved for himself: "Terra Regis.—In Rudierd, Tra. I. Car. Wlmar. tenuit. De Comitatu Stadfordscire, p. 246." However, in the year 1084, Adam de Rudyerd redeemed them upon payment of a sum of money, and the family have at this time a copy of the covenant in their possession, upon which there are endorsements; one of which is, "Norman Panton's grant to Radulphus or Ranulphus (both ways written) de Tetesworth;" and another, the confirmation of the grant of Lady Alice de Warder. This Ranulphus, who was son and successor of Adamus, died 1165, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who, joining the rebel-

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lious barons in the reign of King John, was taken and beheaded in 1213, aged seventy-nine. Richard, his son (who was living in the eighteenth year of Henry III.), accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion in the Crusades, where he greatly distinguished himself, and obtained, as an augmentation of honour to his coat, a star and crescent.* This Richard, on his return from the holy wars, gave forty virgates of land (A.D. 1235) to the Abbey de la Crosse Dieu, or Dieu de Crossa, situated near the village of Rudyerd.† Ranulphus, his son, lived in 1254, *temp.* Henry III., and married Matilda. Thomas, his heir, died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother Richard, who died in 1288, the sixteenth of Edward I., aged sixty-three. He left issue Ranulphus (*temp.* Edward II. 1315); William, who was Dean of Dublin;‡ and Henry, who died without issue. Thomas, son of Ranulphus, Lord of Rudyerd, *temp.* Edward III., married Agnes, daughter of Sir William de Chattlesome, knight, styled Lord of Chattlesome, who, by deed now in possession of the family, grants to the said Thomas all his lands in Tetesworth, the sixteenth Edward III. John, son to Thomas, lived in the twentieth and thirtieth of Edward III. His cousin, —— de Rudyerd, was twice Chancellor of All Soul's, Oxford, A.D. 1391, 1392.§ John was a lawyer. John, his son, *temp.* Richard II., was succeeded by his son Thomas, twenty-second of Richard II. Thomas, his son, succeeded, twenty-first Henry VI., and married Cecelia ——, the third of

* *Vide* "Fuller's Hist." p. 222. (He bore argent fretty sable.)

† From the "Knowledge" of Father Plott, p. 447.

‡ *Vide* "Annals Hiber. a Camden Publ. in Appendice Britan. ad ann. 1320;" et Stamforth, "Descrip. Hib." cap. v. p. 19.

§ A. Wood's "Antiquities and Hist. of the University of Oxford," lib. i. p. 197; et lib. ii. p. 401.

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Edward IV. Their son, Radulphus, Lord of Rudyerd, lived in the reign of Henry VII. He joined Lord Stanley with a large body of men at the battle of Bosworth; and, by a tradition in the family, he was the person who slew Richard III., August 22d, 1485.* Henry VII. on this occasion added to the paternal arms of Rudyerd, on a canton a rose or, in a field gules. He married Johanna, daughter of Roger Savage, county of Chester. They left a son, Jacobus, living *temp.* Henry VIII., who married a daughter of —— Nelson, Esq., county of York. They left Radulphus their son and heir, who married Alicia, daughter of Hugo Brereton de Wimbeslow, county of Chester, and had issue Thomas Rudyerd de Rudyerd† [whose descendants in the female line, male issue having failed, sold the patrimonial estate to the Earl of Macclesfield], and James Rudyerd de Hartley, county of Hants, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Lawrence Kidwelly, of the same county, Esq., by whom he had issue, Lawrence, John, Sir Benjamin, and James, born 1570, 1571, 1572, and 1573. Of Laurence, John, and James, *vide* "Memoirs," p. 2. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd of Westwoodhay in the county of Berks, Knight (the third son), married Mary, daughter and eventually coheiress of Sir Henry Harrington, by Sarah his wife, daughter and coheiress of F. Agar, Esquire, a privy councillor in Ireland. Sir Henry Harrington was next brother to John Lord Harrington of Exton, on the death of whose only son

* This achievement has been claimed by others, amongst whom stands Brandon, father of Charles Duke of Suffolk.

† The descendants from this gentleman, and the representatives of the eldest branch of the Rudyerds of Rudyerd Hall, are the three daughters of the late Nathaniel Aked, Esquire; whereof Marianne married Wynne Williams, Esquire, of Bedford Place; Elizabeth married —— Holden, Esquire; and Susanna married —— Taylor, Esquire.

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John, the second Lord, he became the eldest male representative of that ancient and noble family. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd left issue an only son, William Rudyerd, who married Sarah, one of the five daughters and coheiresses of Sir Stephen Harvey, of Melton Malor, county of Northampton, and of Morton Murrel in Warwickshire, in right of his wife, Mary, sole daughter and heiress of Richard Murden of the same place, Esquire, deputy lieutenant of that county. Sir Stephen, who was the son of Judge Harvey of the Common Pleas, was created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles I. Mr. William Rudyerd left issue an only son, Benjamin Rudyerd, who married Dorothy, one of the two daughters and coheiresses of Sir Benjamin Maddox* of Wormleybury, in the county of Herts, Baronet, by Dorothy his wife, sole heiress of Sir William Glascock of King's Langley, in the same county, Knight, Master of the Court of Requests to King Charles II., and Judge of the Admiralty Court in Ireland. By this marriage Mr. B. Rudyerd† had

* Sir Benjamin Maddox, who was created a Baronet by King Charles II., July 7, A.D. 1666, was the son of Benjamin Maddox, Esquire, of Boughton in Kent, by Mary his wife, daughter of Sir Multon Lambarde of Sevenoaks in the same county, Knight, a celebrated Royalist who greatly distinguished himself in the Civil Wars, and son of the learned William Lambarde, author of the "Perambulation of Kent," and founder and endower of that noble charity, Queen Elizabeth's College at Greenwich.

† Mr. Benjamin Rudyerd married, secondly, Miss Beaumont of Yorkshire; and the descendants of this union were the late Richard Rudyerd of Whitby in the same county, Esquire, who married Miss Yeomans, but died without issue; and his brother, the late General Rudyerd, a Colonel in the Royal Engineers, who died 1828, aged twenty-eight, leaving surviving issue, Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Rudyerd, an officer of the Royal Artillery, who served with great distinction at the battle of Waterloo; Lenox Rudyerd, Esquire, formerly of the Ordnance Office, and now paymaster of the Rideau Canal in Canada; and a daughter, Letitia, married first to James Gordon, Esquire, of Xeres, by whom she has issue a daughter, married to —— Baxter, Esquire, Attorney-General at Sidney, New South Wales, and secondly to Christopher Richardson of Field House,

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several children, of whom Robert, the eldest surviving son, married Jane, only daughter and heiress of the Honourable Mrs. Chaplin,* and left issue, Benjamin Rudyerd, the writer of the letters introduced in this volume, a Captain in the Coldstream Guards, who died unmarried at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, A.D. 1752, in command of a company in Lord George Beauclerk's regiment; and Jane Rudyerd† (his sister, to whom many of the before-mentioned letters are addressed), who upon his death became the heiress and representative of this branch of the family descending from Sir Benjamin Rudyerd of Westwoodhay, Knight, as well as one of the blood representatives of the following families, whose armorial bearings she quartered with her paternal coat.

1. Rudyerd.	9. Agar.	16. Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester.
2. Chaplin.	10. Green.	
3. Maddox.	11. Culpeper.	17. Moton of Peckleton.
4. Glascock.	12. Bruce.	18. Basset of Sapcote.
5. Harvey.	13. Scotland Royal.	19. Ridel.
6. Murden.	14. Saxon Kings.	20. Chaucombe.
7. Woodward.	15. De Blundeville, Earl of Chester.	21. Colville.
8. Harrington.		22. Avenel.

Whitby, Esquire;—two other sons of the General, Colonel William Rudyerd of the Engineers, and Captain Henry Rudyerd of the East India Company's Horse Artillery, having predeceased him, both leaving issue.

* The Honourable Mrs. Chaplin, who died 1747, was the widow of the Honourable and Reverend George Berkeley, only brother to Charles third Earl Berkeley; she was daughter of —— Cole, Esquire, of Devonshire, by his wife, daughter of Sir Harry Jones; by which connexion she was first-cousin to the Earl of Scarborough.

† This lady married Richard Shipley, of Stamford in Lincolnshire, and of Copt Hall, Luton, Bedfordshire, Esquire, a Captain of Cavalry, and died 1811, in her eighty-ninth year, leaving issue the late Major-General Sir Charles Shipley, senior Colonel of the Corps of Royal Engineers, and Governor of the Island of Grenada, whose Memoirs were published some few years ago in the "National Portrait Gallery," by Messrs. Fisher of Newgate Street, London.

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en publiant la relation de son "VOYAGE DANS L'YUCATAN (Amérique Central) et AUX RUINES D'ITZALANE."

M. de Waldeck, pour examiner en pleine connaissance de cause les curieux débris dont le sol du Mexique est semé s'est initié aux principaux idiômes du pays, aux mœurs de ses habitans, et à cette portion de leur histoire que révèlent les manuscrits hiéroglyphiques dont nul jusqu'à ce moment n'avait retrouvé la clé. On conçoit que de pareils préliminaires aient donné a M. de Waldeck une grande supériorité sur les voyageurs qui l'avaient précédé dans la république mexicaine. Mais ce qui surtout constitue cette supériorité, c'est l'habileté du crayon et du pinceau de M. de Waldeck et sa science comme mathématicien et architecte.

Les monuments d'Itzalane, dont il est question dans l'ouvrage qu'on annonce aujourd'hui, n'etaient pas connus en Europe. A peine les géographes en avaient-ils fait mention, et encore ce qu'ils en avaient dit, etait-il généralement erroné. M. de Waldeck a l'honneur d'avoir le premier soulevé ce coin du voile qui dérobe à nos yeux le passé de l'antique nation Maya.

M. de Waldeck mérite aussi les éloges du public pour avoir tempéré l'aridité des détails scientifiques et des dissertations d'archéologie par des tableaux de mœurs où l'on remarque un rare talent d'observation.

Déjà le monde scientifique a pu apprécier le merite de ses longues investigations. La société géographique de Londres, qui compte parmi ses membres tant d'hommes éminens, lui a donné un temoignage de sa satisfaction et de sa reconnaissance en l'admettant dans son sein. La Société géographique de France n'est pas restée en arrière; elle a decerné à l'intrépide voyageur une médaille spéciale, distinction flatteuse qui dit assez de quelle importance sont les travaux et les nombreux dessins de M. Waldeck."—*Constitutionel.*

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